THE ACTIVITIES AND RHETORIC OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS AMONG RACIALLY AND ETHNICALLY DIVERSE PEOPLES THROUGHOUT AMERICAN HISTORY: GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND THE PROTESTANT HOME MISSIONS MOVEMENT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	‘WHAT IF THOU ART THE MAN, MR. WHITEFIELD?’: RECASTING GEORGE WHITEFIELD IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD…………………………………………	1
II.	‘FOREIGNERS OR FRIENDS? ALIENS OR AMERICANS?’: IDEOLOGICAL TENSIONS WITHING THE PROTESTANT HOME MISSIONS MOVEMENT, 1880-1930…………………………………………	24

Bibliography…………………………………………………………………………

CHAPTER I

"What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield?"[1]

As the newspapers circulated with the breeze on a crisp Boston morning in late September1770, readers awoke to a new voice in the print. A seventeen-year-old Gambian slave girl named Phillis Wheatley penned "An Elegiac Poem on the Death of that Celebrated Divine, and Eminent Servant of Jesus Christ, The Late Reverend, and Pious George Whitefield" in the prominent *Boston Gazette*. In this poem that would echo through the centuries and bring America her first female black poet of prominence, Wheatley described her admiration for George Whitefield.[2] She mimics Whitefield's message urging people to accept Christ: "Take HIM ye wretched for your only good;/ take HIM you starving souls to be your food./ Ye thirsty, come to his life-giving stream:/ Ye Preachers, take him for your joyful theme:/ Take Him, "my dear AMERICANS," he said,/…Take Him ye *Africans*, he longs for you/…If you will chuse to walk in grace's road,/ You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to God." Remarkably, this poem references much of Whitefield's ministry and, in clear voice and rhyme, animates this man's life. When politicians, preachers, businessmen, orphans and slaves awoke to the news of Whitefield's death and Wheatley's elegy, they effectively demonstrated the reach of his Atlantic legacy.

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[1] These were words written to George Whitefield by his dear friend John Wesley, imploring Whitefield to join in the missionary effort to the Georgian colony. (As recorded in Whitefield's J*ournals*, 79, Arnold A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival, Vol. 1.* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust), 1970, 107).

[2] Wheatley, Phillis. "An Elegiac Poem on the Death of that Celebrated Divine, and Eminent Servant of Jesus Christ, the Late Reverend, and Pious George Whitefield." (Boston, Russell and Boyles), 1770.

The emergent field of Atlantic History has allowed scholars to envision new spheres of contact and exchange between groups in novel and exciting ways. Challenging the strictly national narratives of conquest and progression westward, the concept of the Atlantic World considers the complex interactions between people, products, and ideas—revealing highly nuanced patterns and understandings. The study of the Atlantic world also creates an opportunity to recast and re-examine even well known figures. In this way, George Whitefield, the prolific and legendary methodist[3] preacher, demands assessment as not only the father of the Second Great Awakening, but also as a prominent character illuminating the colonial Atlantic. Crossing the Atlantic thirteen times, visiting "nearly all the cities and larger towns"[4] in Scotland and Ireland as well as all of the American colonies, George Whitefield was arguably the most transient man of his day, preaching an estimated 18,000 sermons heard by hundreds of thousands throughout the British Atlantic.[5] His travels and travails offer an unequaled story of the Atlantic world, a world that Whitefield sought to unify under the name of Christ.

There is no dearth of biographical material about Whitefield. His name appears often in print and some have estimated that Whitefield was the most well known man of his day, though considerable confusion persists regarding certain issues and stances of Whitefield's, possibly because he lacked concern over his own legacy. Debates have raged since his ministry began concerning a host of issues including his theology, his ecclesiology, his personal life, his friendships, and his denominational fealty. Even in his

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[3] In this paper, methodist will be used, referring to the Reformed brand of Christianity developed by Whitefield and the Wesley brothers focusing on small groups gathering together in discipleship, not to be confused with the later Methodist denomination of the United States.
[4] Hardy, Edwin Noah. *George Whitefield: The Matchless Soul Winner*. (New York: American Tract Society), 1938, 188, Gillies, J. Rev, D.D. *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. George Whitefield, A.M.* London: W. Henry, Aldersgate-street. 1775. Second edition, 1813, 118.
[5] Frank Lambert, "Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Great Awakening, 1737-1745." *Journal of American History,* Vol.77, No. 3, (December 1990), 4.

day, friends urged Whitefield to correct or refute the misrepresentations and accusations leveled against him. Yet, Whitefield adamantly refused, disregarding his own legacy and instead exclaiming, "Let the name of Whitefield perish, but Christ be glorified!"[6]

Heralded as the Great Itinerant and Father of the Awakening, the historiography has been predominately rooted in the realm of the religious and Whitefield has, until recently, been viewed solely as a religious figure. The definitive work on Whitefield for some time rested with John Gillies, a contemporary of Whitefield who assembled his letters into a 1772 collection, *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend George Whitefield*.[7] Following Gillies, Robert Phillip published *The Life and Times of George Whitefield* in 1837and Luke Tyerman wrote a two volume work, The Life of George Whitefield in 1876.[8] To a large extent, Whitefield appears as part of the Great Awakening, with the literature about him somewhat subsumed in the massive outpouring surrounding John Wesley, one of Whitefield's counterparts and co-laborers. Then in 1970, Arnold Dallimore crafted the most thorough and comprehensive work on Whitefield to date. In two volumes numbering over 500 pages, Dallimore adeptly combines all of the previous scholarship to create a definitive biographical statement.[9] More recently, Whitefield has been reappraised within the secular and cultural context of his day, identifying him as a

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[6] George Whitefield, *Journals,* Banner of Truth Trust, 1960. Quoted in Dallimore 7. *George Whitefield's Journals* (1737-1741*) to Which is Prefixed His "Short Account" (1746) and "Further Account"(1747)* A Facsimile Reproduction of the Edition of William Wale in 1905. Introduction by William V. Davis. (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints), 1969.

[7] Gillies, J. Rev, D.D. *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. George Whitefield, A.M.* (London: W. Henry, Aldersgate-street), 1775. Second edition, 1813.

[8] Robert Phillip, *The Life and Times of George Whitefield*, (London), 1837, Luke Tyerman, *The Life of George Whitefield*, Vol. 1-II, (London), 1876.

[9] Arnold A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival, Vol. 1.* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust), 1970. At moments it is difficult not to slip into mere paean of this man, exalted as he is amongst many of those who document his life. The beloved Englishman Dr. Martin Lloyd Jones called Whitefield "the most loveable," continuing that he was "the greatest preacher England has ever produced."

commercial entrepreneur and an expert in communications and rhetoric.[10] Many have noted Whitefield as a contributor, some even say the leader, of a transatlantic religious revival, but few have examined Whitefield himself as a transatlantic figure or assessed how and why he was able to translate his message to so many variegated audiences.[11] That is the aim of this essay. In this way, it is possible to recast the prominent, elusive George Whitefield as a cultural broker of sorts, an Atlantic citizen who was able to adroitly navigate betwixt and between various nations, denominations, classes, and races.[12]

George Whitefield was born on December 16, 1714 in Gloucester, England. His father died when George was still a young child, leaving him to be raised by his mother, an innkeeper, and his stepfather in a lower-middle class home that was not particularly religious. Not until his years at Pembroke College in Oxford, with the encouragement of

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[10] Westerkamp, Marilyn J. *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760.* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1988. She takes the view that the Great Awakening was part of a changing society, not a foreign invasion of religiosity into a complacently secularizing society. In this sense, Westerkamp takes the focus off of Whitefield as an anomaly of zeal, places him within the larger context of the Great Awakening to see him as "a catalyst rather than as instigator." (187). Frank Lambert, "Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Great Awakening, 1737-1745." *Journal of American History*, Vol.77, No. 3, (December 1990) and Frank Lambert*, "Pedlar in Divinity": George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1737-1745.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1993. Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism,* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), 1991 and Harry S. Stout, "Religion, Communications, and the Career of George Whitefield," in *Communication & Change in American Religious History*, ed. by Leonard I. Sweet. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing), 1993, 108-126.

[11] See Susan O'Brien, "A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network, 1735-1755," *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 811-832.

[12] [12] The notion of cultural brokers is significant and pervades the literature of the Atlantic World. Characters, known as cultural brokers, Atlantic creoles, middle people, go betweens, cosmopolitans, indios criollos, or even grumetas, that negotiate between groups become translators as well as luminaries into the divides of the day. See *From Borderlands to Borders'," American Historical Review, 104 (1999), 1221-1239,* Eliga H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery, *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (June 2007), 764-786, Peter C. Mancall, " 'The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom': The Social Costs of Indian Drinking in Colonial America," in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal* ed. by Peter Mancall and James Merrell, (New York: Routledge Press), 270-289, and David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community,* 1735-1785 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Karen Ordahl Kupperman *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 200) and Yanna Yanakakis *The Art of Being InBetween,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

his friends and fellow Holy Club members, John and Charles Wesley, did Whitefield experience 'new birth' in Christ. From that moment of conversion, what Whitefield described as "the Spirit of God tak[ing] possession of [his] soul," his life was utterly transformed and he was single-mindedly devoted to the ministry.[13] Suddenly, "England was startled by the sound of a voice." This was "the voice of a preacher, George Whitefield, a clergyman but 22 years old who was declaring the Gospel in the pulpits of London with such fervor and power that no church would hold the multitudes that flocked to hear."[14] Oxford educated yet containing the unrestrained exuberance of one whose life has been radically transformed, Whitefield spoke in a form both educated and eloquent, erudite and evocative. He also harbored a well-documented flair for the dramatic that would enliven his message and make the world his stage. Part of the forcefulness of Whitefield's preaching and communication resided in his ability to passionately and simply convey the 'truths' he espoused. While sometimes criticized as inciting emotional hysteria and manipulating the feelings of the masses, Whitefield's sermons were actually based on biblical passages and sound doctrine. Yet, he was able to translate the dry theology into terms that regular men and women could comprehend. From concrete spiritual practices to erudite discussions of the doctrines of justification by faith, Whitefield's sermons reveal an astonishing diversity and an ability to mediate his audiences, while continually remaining faithful to the Word of God and the central premises of the gospel.[15]

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[13] Whitefield, *Journals*, 49.
[14] Dallimore 31.
[15] See Harry S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), 1991 and Harry S. Stout, "Religion, Communication, and the Career of George Whitefield," in *Communication & Change in American Religious History*, ed. by Leonard I. Sweet (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company), 1993, 108-125.

Ordained at the age of 22, Whitefield began preaching in and around London, but soon set his sights abroad. Rather than content himself with the life of a British preacher and scholar, Whitefield dreamed of a boundless Christian revival, imagining the whole world to be his "parish."[16] In other words, Whitefield had an encompassing vision and believed "a truly transatlantic revival was possible and that he could be its symbolic center."[17] And so, rather than remain in London, "the principal cities of the periphery—Philadelphia, Boston, and Edinburgh—would be the enlightened nodal points from which true revival would spread."[18]

As one biographer phrased it, "his zeal could not be contained within the British islands," and, in December of 1738, Whitefield took to the sea.[19] At the young age of 23, Whitefield boarded the *Whitaker*, destined for the five-year-old colony of Georgia. Ever the storyteller and passionate communicator, Whitefield's *Journals* contain dramatic accounts of life at sea. He rhapsodizes, "For the waves rose mountain high, and sometimes came on the quarter-deck, I endeavored all the while to magnify God, for thus making his power to be known."[20] In typical fashion, Whitefield challenged the crashing of the waves with the thunder of his message. Serving as self-appointed chaplain and spiritual guardian, Whitefield set about to evangelize his fellow travelers, creating a truly 'transatlantic' ministry for those on board.[21]

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[16] Gillies 105. Frank Lambert significantly contends that the conditions for Whitefield's ministry were created by the 18th century commercial and communications revolutions linking locations throughout the Atlantic. Whitefield certainly utilized these connections to preach his message. As Lambert phrased it, "the spreading market enabled him to conceive of organizing a revival spreading the Atlantic." Not only with physical preaching, "Whitefield flooded the Atlantic world with his printed *Journals* and sermons," utilizing the new print culture to disseminate his words (Lambert 75).
[17] Stout 133.
[18] Stout 134.
[19] Lambert 4.
[20] Whitefield, *Journals*. Quoted in Stout 53.
[21] For a full description, see Whitefield's *Journals*, 130-140.

His ministry prospered on land as well, as Whitefield travelled extensively throughout the Atlantic world, inspiring Augustus Toplady to call him "the apostle of the British Empire."[22] The list of places Whitefield visited and preached in the United Kingdom is truly staggering. Leicaster, Lutterworth, Newcastle, Leeds, Birstall, Haworth, Hallifax, Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, Chinly, Rotherham, Epworth, York, Wakefield, Nottingham, Sheffield, Cambuslang and Dublin all appear in his correspondence and local newspapers. An elegy penned upon his death recalls, "At Glasgow, Cambuslang, and Kilsyth,/ such echoes oft was there,/ While neighboring mountains did resound/ in this peious a fair."[23] Frank Lambert adds to this portrait of Whitefield as Atlantic traveler, eloquently summing, "crisscrossing England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland on preaching tours, the Itinerant ignored national and ecclesiastical boundaries to convey the gospel to young and old, rich and poor, aristocrat and vagrant."[24] Mentions of Whitefield also surface in the *Virginia Gazette*, *South Carolina Gazette, New York Gazette, Boston Gazette, Boston Weekly, Boston Weekly-Newsletter, Boston Weekly Post-Boy, Read's Weekly Journal, New England Weekly Journal*, London's *Daily Gazetteer, American Magazine, New York Mercury, New London Gazette, Christian Weekly, Connecticut Courant, Fog's Weekly Journal, Glasgow Weekly History, Gloucester Journal, Grub Street Journal,* and *The Guardian*, to name few.[25] Additionally, Whitefield travelled to

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[22] Augustus Toplady, as quoted in J.C. Ryle, "Life and Labors of George Whitefield," *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* Rochester, NY, November 23, 1855, African American Newspapers.
[23] Captain Majorum, *An Elegy On much Lamented Death of the Revered Mr. George Whitefield, Who died at New-berry port in New-England, on the 1st date of October, 1770*. Library of Congress Collections.
[24] Lambert 4.
[25] Newspapers from throughout the colonies anticipated Whitefield's arrival, printed his message and debated his merits. In this way, "newspaper articles, both friendly and unfriendly, contributed to the Whitefield frenzy." (Thomas Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, 47) As historian Frank Lambert contends, Whitefield "became the best known preacher in the Atlantic world in large part because of newspaper advertising." He expounds, noting that "60 percent of the *Pennsylvania Gazette's* issues during [a certain]

Lisbon, Gibraltar and Deals, where he was confronted with "an unforgettable look at a variety of people and cultures"[26] and, according to his *Journals*, "the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity dazzled him."[27] Undoubtedly, George Whitefield was a traveler, familiar with the Atlantic's currents. His extensive flitting to and fro throughout the colonies and islands qualifies him as a truly Atlantic figure. As Aaron C. Seymour wrote in 1811, "his labours in both hemispheres were immense; his courage undaunted; his zeal unquenchable."[28]

"Should churches now be shut
The Field's wide open stand
Where ev'ry one with Freedom may
Hear the great God's Commands."[29]

As he travelled, Whitefield encountered various religious atmospheres and congregational contexts. Coming out of a collective past seared with memories of brutal religious conflict, denominations in Whitefield's day tended to be highly stratified and combative. [30] The Scottish case illumines many of the issues Whitefield faced throughout

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period devoted space to Whitefield" while "the *Virginia Gazette* carried stories of the evangelist in a third of its issues."(Lambert 820) According to Thomas Kidd, "works by or about Whitefield caused the number of printed texts produced in America to almost double between 1738 and 1741." (Kidd 47). See "Just Published, Remarks upon Mr. George Whitefield, Proving him a Man under Delusion," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 11, 1744, "Just Published, the Character, Preaching &c. of the Rev." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1740, "Postscript to the Pennsylvania Gazette No. 2138," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 14, 1769. "Philadelphia, December 31," *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 31, 1751 that illustrates a sampling of types of articles published about Whitefield. See also David A. Copeland, *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers: Primary Documents on the Events of the Period*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), 2000.

[26] Stout 57.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Gillies v.

[29] "A Poem, On the joyful News of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Visit to Boston," 1754. http://memory,loc.gov/cgi-bin… 19 October 2009.

[30] The Church in England, for example, had been wrought throughout the 17th century by fractions and divisions. Deism and the intellectual arguments over doctrinal righteousness created a culture in Britain of religious coldness where Christianity was confined to academic and theological debate. Some Britons defected from the faith, while more simply remained in the Church of England without much care or conviction of religious belief, retaining the formal rituals but lacking in feeling or fervor. According to contemporary accounts, both the elite and poor entered into a period of licentiousness and debauchery numbed and deafened by years where religious rhetoric and real faith were separated. Christianity was for

his tours regarding denominational splintering and spiritual apathy. In Scotland, Whitefield encountered a Presbyterian Church, or Kirk, as it was known, beleaguered by disagreements that centered around the 1726 reprinting of a 1694 book, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This text exposed and exploited the division present in the Church between the Moderates and Evangelicals in terms of understanding Providence and the doctrine of election.[31] Responding to this schism, Whitefield refused to align himself with any of Scotland's sects, whether the Erskines, the Evangelicals, or the Prayer Societies, much to the chagrin and confusion of the religious leaders.[32] As a result, the Moderates, who feared the stirring of the masses hat accompanied so much of Whitefield's presence, attempted to undermine his ministry and tell "every scurrilous tale they could find" to imply that Whitefield was merely a "clever charlatan."[33]

Despite the contentious religious context, Whitefield arrived in Scotland on July 29, 1741, to a generally warm acceptance. Eschewing the stale theological debate, Whitefield simply preached the gospel directly to the Scottish people. After spending his first three weeks in Edinburgh, Whitefield began to travel about the country for the months of September and October, eventually leading him to most of the major towns and cities. He reported that, after declaring the passage from which he would preach for the day, he heard "the rustling made by opening the Bibles all at once" and, following the message, having conversations "such as became the Gospel of Christ."[34] At another gathering in Scotland, Whitefield paid the ultimate compliment to any assembly saying

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theologians to contemplate but had no real place in the lives of ordinary men and women. (Dallimore 22-28).

[31] Dallimore 86.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Dallimore 88.

[34] Ibid.

simply, "The Lord was there."[35] Instead of becoming easily labeled and dismissed, Whitefield was, for each denomination, a manifestation of the theology so debated, a pure Calvinist but one with "doctrine aglow with evangelistic fire."[36] The illustrious Whitefield departed Scotland on October 28 after having made a sure impact and further established himself as an international minister of the gospel, one who transcended theological tumult and denominational dissention.

Not only in Scotland, Whitefield staunchly refused, throughout his ministry, to preach within the confines of one sect or denomination. He maintained the assertion that it was faith in Christ and not church membership or proper theology that earned salvation, once even commenting, "upon the maturest Deliberation…*That Archbishop* Tillotson *knew no more about* true *Christianity than Mahomet."*[37] Even Benjamin Franklin stated, "The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous; and it was a matter of speculation with me to observe the influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him."[38] Some onlookers "counted among Whitefield's followers Quakers, Anglicans, Congregationalists, some German Lutherans and Pietists, some unchurched, and a plurality of Presbyterians."[39]

In a significant sense, Whitefield was able to be a religious cultural broker because of his broad spiritual framework. That should not imply that he was without specific doctrinal stances. Rather, Whitefield was a Calvinist, of the Reformed faith, a

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[35] Whitefield, *Works* Vol. 1, 304-305. Dallimore 89.
[36] Dallimore 87.
[37] Whitefield, *A Letter from the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, at Georgia, to a Friend*, January 18, 1739, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, 1740.
[38] John Pollock, *George Whitefield and the Great Awakening* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.), 1972, 121.
[39] Westerkamp 199.

believer in predestination and the supremacy of God's grace above all. But far from channeling him towards pious self –righteousness based on his status as divinely elect, his theology led Whitefield precisely to evangelism. His understanding of the both the universal depravity of all mankind and the immutable and far-reaching nature of God's grace allowed him to transcend certain denominational and theological quarrels. This enabled Whitefield to even claim, "if the Pope himself would lend me his pulpit, I would gladly proclaim the righteousness of Christ therein."[40]

For these beliefs, Whitefield often encountered opposition. His belief that God's grace did not operate according to the membership records of the Church of England enabled some to dismiss him as a disgraceful man who stirred up the common people, but also gave him access to those both inside and outside of the established Church.[41]

"Great *Countess*! We Americans revere
Thy name and thus condole thy grief sincere…
New England sure, doth feel the *Orphans* smart;
Reveals the true sensations of his heart."

In preaching outside of the Church, Whitefield gained the ability to interact with those of many different socioeconomic classes. As one biographer phrased it, "Whitefield was as successful in soul-winning among the highest ranks of society as among the lowest."[42] Though from a lower-middle class upbringing, Whitfield's learnedness, eloquence, and passion earned him the respect of some of society's most elite members. Lady Selina Huntington, who, "socially and intellectually was one of the most prominent women of her time in England," was one of Whitefield's closest friends and most ardent

[40] *Letters*, 307-308. Dallimore 90.
[41] Dallimore 135-136.
[42] Hardy 220.

supporters.[43] Whitefield additionally befriended David Hume, Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, many other ministers, and, maybe most notably, Benjamin Franklin.[44]

Whitefield's relationship with Benjamin Franklin was extraordinary and is worth discussing as it further confirms Whitefield's prominence in the Atlantic world of ideas and philosophy. In November of 1739, a young Benjamin Franklin heard Whitefield preaching from the Philadelphia courthouse and, receding down Market Street until out of earshot, the scientific genius estimated Whitefield's booming voice could reach 30,000 people.[45] From this initial interest, the two corresponded widely and Franklin even dedicated portions of his *Autobiography* to Whitefield. The men shared a dislike for institutions and denominations as well as a dedication to humanistic charity. In Whitefield, "Franklin saw a truly virtuous character who did not hesitate to throw in his lot with slaves, women, Indians, and orphans—those eighteenth century lepers ignored by most clerics."[46] Surprisingly, "Franklin became Whitefield's best American friend, and, reciprocally, Franklin's only evangelical friend."[47] Franklin even asked Whitefield to join him on an adventurous project--founding a colony in the Ohio hinterland. Though Whitefield's response did not survive, "the proposition stands as an unequaled testimony to the trust and friendship Franklin exhibited toward his itinerant friend."[48] Perhaps the most telling statement from Ben Franklin regarding his esteem of Whitefield came in a

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[43] Hardy 215, Dallimore 131.
[44] Gillies 182.
[45] Pollock 121.
[46] Stout 230.
[47] Stout 220.
[48] Stout 232.

letter to his own brother John right before Whitefield died in which he said, "he is a good friend and I love him."[49]

Whitefield was able to use the money and publicity earned in his relationships with elites like Ben Franklin to aid his ministry to the poor and disenfranchised. From the inception of his mission to America, Whitefield dreamt of founding a school where British orphans from the teeming, squalid cities could come and live in the wilderness of the Georgian colony. Whitefield frequently travelled amongst his wealthy contacts in Britain, seeking funding for his orphanage, *Bethesda*, or House of Mercy, set up outside of Savannah.[50] For instance, there remain documents indicating that on August 14, 1739, Whitefield returned to Georgia from England after amassing a substantial amount of money, over a thousand pounds, donated to the orphanage.[51] Georgian Colonial Records also document evidence of donations to Whitefield as well as the land grant for the "Orphan-House."[52] As a result, the Bethesda orphanage became one of Whitefield's most enduring legacies, remaining, albeit in slightly different form, to this day. Whitefield frequently wrote to the orphans while he was away, entreating them to turn to Christ, and signing the letters, "your affectionate friend, G.W."[53] Whitefield preached in the fields, in the public squares, beckoning all with ears to hear. Orphans, slaves, laborers, the

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[49] Stout 233. For other remarks of the relationship between Ben Franklin and George Whitefield, see Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay and P.M. Zall, New York, 1986, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, New Haven, 1959, Benjamin Franklin, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Vol. 1 p 87, John Williams, "The Strange Case of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Whitefield," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (1978): 399-421, David T. Morgan, "A Most Unlikely Friendship: Benjamin Franklin and George Whitefield," *The Historian* 47 (1985): 208-18, Joyce E. Chaplin, *The First Scientific American: Benjamin Franklin and the Pursuit of Genius,* (New York: Basic Books), 1996.

[50] *Journals,* January 11, 1740, 392-393.

[51] Joseph Belcher D.D., *George Whitefield: A Biography with Special Reference to His Labors in America,* (New York: The American Tract Society), 1857, 98.

[52] *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, Vol. 3, October 12, 1741-October 30 1754. July 5, 1753, 303.

[53] Whitefield, *Letters.*

powerless and disenfranchised, though ostracized by society, were valued and cared for by George Whitefield.

As David M. Lloyd Jones put it, "Whitefield knew his message and how it should be applied to the human heart and mind of all classes." Eloquently, Jones continues, "he was as much the favourite preacher of the aristocracy that gathered to listen to him in the home of Lady Huntington as of the common rabble that listened to him in the Moorfields of Kensington."[54] This contributed to Whitefield's enduring legacy as a cultural broker, as one who spoke the same message to all, whether occupying London's finest drawing rooms or South Carolina's most destitute shacks. In 1857, Belcher recounted that "through [Whitefield's] whole ministry, it was of small importance whether he preached to the rich or the poor." This was possible, he contends, even in such a class-focused society because Whitefield "viewed the gospel as a message of mercy for *sinners*, and wherever men were found, he was willing to persuade them to be reconciled to God."[55]

The *Negroe*s too he'll not forget,
But tells them all to come;
Invites the *Black* as well as *White,*
And says for them there's Room"[56]

In his travels, Whitefield encountered peoples of not only differing creeds and differing classes, but also of diverse races and ethnicities, offering his message to all and embodying a cultural and racial broker and Atlantic citizen. His time in the Caribbean and in the American colonies particularly illumines this racial negotiation.[57] Whitefield went to "the Bermudas," a location "placed by itself in almost the middle of the Atlantic

[54] Jones, *Preface* to Dallimore x.
[55] Belcher 52.
[56] "A Poem, On the joyful News of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Visit to Boston," 1754. http://memory,loc.gov/cgi-bin… 19 October 2009.
[57] See also *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, "Letter from Bermudas," October 30, 1740.

Ocean" to recover his health in 1748.[58] In his *Letter from Bermudas,* Whitefield records hurricanes, fleets of Spanish ships, and shipwrecks, painting a rhetorical picture of his travels throughout the Caribbean.[59] So full of energy and joy, he rarely ceased preaching to rest, exclaiming, "Surely the Lord Jesus will give me some seals in this island!"[60] Whitefield began his island ministry and "preached at five different houses, to concerned and affected congregations, at different parts of the island."[61] Later, the people clamored for Whitefield to come preach to them in town so he went and, since there was no house large enough, he "preached in the open air," something for which the Great Itinerant would become infamous.[62]

In the islands, Whitefield had the experience of preaching to both blacks and whites, an issue of which he was acutely aware. He recalls a sermon delivered at the home of a man identified as Mr. Paul, saying an "abundance of negroes, and many others, were in the vestry, porch and about the house."[63] One instance particularly reveals this racial component. Whitefield recounts in his *Journal* from May 1: "I preached about four miles distant, in the fields, to a large number of negroes, and a number of white people who came to hear what I had to say to them…in all, near fifteen hundred people. As the sermon was intended for negroes, I gave the auditory warning, that my discourse would be chiefly directed to them…the negroes seemed very sensible, and attentive…everything was carried on with great decency; and I believe the Lord enabled me so to discourse, as to touch the negroes, and yet not to give them the least umbrage to slight, or behave

[58] Gillies 76. During this time, Whitefield also visited Baylis Bay, St, George, and David's Island, at one point mentioning in his *Journals* "a most remarkable cave." (Gilles 79).
[59] Whitefield, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, "Letter from Bermudas," October 30, 1740.
[60] Gillies 78. Seals here refer the to Holy Spirit's sealing a soul for eternal salvation.
[61] Gillies 83.
[62] Gillies 79.
[63] Whitefield, *Memoirs*, "Sunday March 27,"Gillies 78.

imperiously to their masters." He continues, "Upon enquiry, I found that some of the negroes did not like my preaching, because I told them of their cursing, swearing, thieving and lying…and I said, their hearts were as black as their faces" while others reported being "thankful," giving Whitefield cause to "rejoice."[64] Though his comments are somewhat bristling to our modern sensibilities, it is apparent that Whitefield was attentive to the response from his black listeners, and he thoughtfully addressed their questions and concerns. From these interactions, Whitefield concluded, "From all which I infer these Bermuda negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared in a good measure, for hearing the gospel preached unto them."[65] So George Whitefield preached boldly to both black and white, believing the word to harness truth and power for all. In his personal prayers, Whitefield entreated to God, "Lord teach me…wherever I am called, to give either black or white a portion of thy word!"[66] His farewell sermon at an open house included blacks as well as whites and Whitefield declared, "to see so many black faces was affecting."[67] He continues, writing, "I believe there were few dry eyes. The negroes, likewise without doors, I hear weep plentifully. My own heart was affected."[68] Upon leaving, Whitefield was able to conclude that "surely a great work is begun in some souls at Bermudas," souls, assuredly, which dwelt within both whites and blacks.[69]

He continued the tradition of preaching to blacks, by addressing slaves in the American colonies. Often depicted standing surrounded by a "great number of negroes"

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[64] Whitefield, *Memoirs*, "Monday May 2,"Gillies 85.
[65] Whitefield, *Memoirs,* "Saturday May 7," Gillies 86.
[66] Whitefield, *Memoirs* "Monday May 2," Gillies 85.
[67] Whitefield, *Memoirs* "Sunday, May 8," Gillies 86.
[68] Whitefield, *Memoirs* "Sunday, May 15," Gillies 87.
[69] Ibid.

Whitefield insisted on the validity, dignity, and preciousness of every soul, using Scripture to buttress his points.[70] At one point, Whitefield commented that "one Negro brought to Jesus Christ is peculiarly sweet to my soul."[71] Though at moments his tone is condescending and self-congratulatory, Whitefield must be recognized as a somewhat unique figure in the racial structure of the British Atlantic.[72] In his estimation, "blacks and whites had a common Creator, and the gospel of New Birth applied to them equally. Equality before God meant equality among people." [73] George Whitefield entered into an American colonial context rift with racial tensions, and, full of conviction, persisted in preaching the good news of Christ's love to Americans, black or white, slave or free.

In America, Whitefield was appalled by the plantation system, seeing slaves laboring from the tobacco fields of Virginia to the rice plantations of coastal Georgia and South Carolina. As one scholar noted, "visits to the lines at plantations and the callous indifference shown by their masters wrung his heart."[74] As he voyaged, Whitefield's anger burned within him as he mentally composed a letter to the slave owners, chastising them for their oppressive exploitation of fellow humans. In this 1740 "Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Concerning their Negroes," Whitefield passionately writes, "I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, and have seen many spacious houses, and the owners of them faring sumptuously every

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[70] See Appendix A for an example of an artistic rendering. Whitefield frequently used a portion of Scripture from Acts 8 to affirm the biblical foundation for preaching to blacks, a passage detailing the conversion of an Ethiopian. (Kidd 86, Stout 122-123).
[71] Gillies 53.
[72] It should be noted that, in some ways, "white Methodists evangelicals" like George Whitefield, "beheld in pious free and enslaved blacks, persons who conformed to their spiritual ideals." These black men and women were "downtrodden, despised humanity, alienated from centers of power and social prestige, but favored by God." (Graham Russell Hodges, *Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The Narratives of John Jea and George White,* (Madison: Madison House Press), 1993, 5).
[73] *Journals* 379, Kidd 53.
[74] Pollock 125.

day, my blood has almost run cold within me, when I have considered how many of your slaves have neither convenient food to eat, nor proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding most of the comforts you enjoy were solely owing to their indefatigable labours." Thus, Whitefield expands, "God has a quarrel with you for your cruelty to the poor negroes." And though Whitefield at this time resists making a judgment regarding the slave trade itself and does not explicitly desire to incite any sort of slave rebellion,[75] he insinuates in this letter that if the slaves, in God's Providence, were to revolt, "all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just." Whitefield probes further in this scathing tone, saying, "Think you, your children are in any way better by nature then the poor negroes? No! In no wise! Blacks are just as much, and no more, conceived and born in sin, as white men are."[76]

This letter, possibly due to its outraged tone, circulated widely in newspapers throughout the colonies. Benjamin Franklin himself released it pamphlet form. Whitefield's expressed compassion led Lord Egmont to report that his "arduous efforts for the conversion of the Negroes" was prompting some southern plantation owners to fear a mounting slave revolt.[77] It is also important to note that the time in which Whitefield was writing was exceptionally violent, including the 1739 War of Jenkin's Ear as well as the 1740 Stono Rebellion. Far from being the innocuous musings of an

[75] A. Dallimore in particular laments that Whitefield, who had the young nation by the ears, did not fully advocate abolition (Dallimore 509). Not only did Whitefield miss a great opportunity to press for liberation, later in life, in contributed significantly to the perpetuation of the slave system in Georgia. See Allan Gallay, "The Origins of Slaveholders' Paternalism: George Whitefield, the Bryan Family, and the Great Awakening in the South." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 53, No. 3, August 1987. Whitefield's failings in regard to slavery politics are, what one commentator dubbed his "black spot." (David S. Lovejoy, *Religious Enthusiasm in the New World*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 199-200).
[76] Whitefield, "Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Concerning their Negroes," 1740. Dallimore 494-496. For another interesting perspective, see Stephen J. Stein, "George Whitefield on Slavery: Some New Evidence," *American Society of Church History*, 1973, JSTOR, 2 December 2009, http://www.jstor.org/pss/3163671.
[77] Pollock 127.

idealistic preacher, Whitefield's views on slavery reminded American colonists of certain racial realities and the tenuous nature of the plantation system. Unsurprisingly, the response from many guilty Americans was swift and harsh, releasing an unrelenting barrage of criticism towards Whitefield until his death. One can only assume Whitefield cared little about this virulent backlash.

Rather, he seems to have cultivated deep relationships with blacks throughout the colonies. In a letter to Mr. I. W. in Philadelphia, Whitefield instructed him to "give his love to Peggy, and all that love Jesus."[78] Peggy was a black woman living in the house that Whitefield clearly recognizes as a sincere believer and one who loves Jesus. In another letter he writes, "my love to the Negro Peggy and all her black sisters. Bid them pray for me."[79] One of the most touching accounts comes at a bleak moment in Whitefield's life, as he lay supposedly dying in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. An old black woman asked to speak to Whitefield before he died, a request that Whitefield happily granted. The women entered his room, sat at his bedside, and stared into his eyes for a time. Then, she spoke, asking Whitefield not to go to heaven yet, but rather "go first and call some poor Negroes."[80] Whitefield apparently heeded the woman's counsel and thereafter recovered.

Whitefield particularly had great success preaching to slaves in Quaker Pennsylvania, and from this, decided to endeavor to build a great school for blacks there. In fact, in 1739, Whitefield, with the help of wealthy benefactors, bought a 5400-acre tract of land north of Philadelphia at the forks of the Delaware River for that purpose.

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[78] Whitefield, *Letters* CCLXXXIIIl, 265.
[79] Whitefield, *Letters* CCLXXXIIIl, 265, Dallimore 501. See also Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 2005.
[80] Pollock 215.

Dubbing the estate *Nazareth*, Whitefield left the project to Peter Bohler and his Moravian friends as he continued his travels.[81] But education became a touchstone for Whitefield and he focused much of his time and money on securing educational opportunities for blacks throughout the colonies. In Charleston, Whitefield stated that "a door, I believe, will be opened for teaching the poor negroes. Several of them have done their work in less time, that they might come and hear me. Many of their owners, who have been awakened, resolved to teach them Christianity. Had I the time, and proper schoolmasters, I might immediately erect a negro school in South Carolina, as well as in Pennsylvania. Many would willingly contribute both money and land."[82] Though Whitefield occasionally displayed a penchant for self-aggrandizement, this statement seems to indicate that, such was his unifying power in the diverse Atlantic world, that he could find white financial contributors to educate blacks. Another instance also gives this impression. In a letter dated February 23, 1724, Whitefield writes to "The Right Honourable Lady M.H. at Thales, London. Therein, Whitefield reveals that "twelve negroes, belonging to a planter lately converted at Orphan-house, are savingly brought home to Jesus Christ" saying that "This will rejoice your Ladyship's heart."[83] This statement implies that not only were blacks being educated and converted, but that Whitefield's Atlantic connections made this a transatlantic project, securing support, funding, and prayers from abroad for his work amongst American blacks.[84]

[81] Whitefield, *Journals* 411, 386-387. Lovejoy 166, Dallimore 497. For more one the role of Moravians in race relations, see Richard Price, *Alabi's World*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press), 1990.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Whitefield, *Letters* CCCXCVIII, 370-371.
[84] This ability to traverse between races extended beyond just blacks in the colonies, to the Indians as well. Whitefield exhorted his fellow preachers to go to the Indians of America reminding them forcefully that Christ sacrificed for all, Indians and Englishman alike, and that the kingdom of God knows no distinctions between peoples. The infamous Jonathan Edwards himself "marveled at the way the Awakening had spread to the barbarous and ignorant, to Indians and Negroes" anticipating a day when Christianity would

George Whitefield, the Atlantic traveler, the inexhaustible preacher, exemplifies the role of a cultural broker. A man liberated and emboldened by his message, Whitefield spoke without regard to denomination of Church affiliation, preaching on the hillsides as well as in the cathedrals. He addressed both rich and poor-- dukes, governors, servants, and children all receiving his attention and care. Whitefield also brought his words to people irrespective of color as all could find a place in his gospel. Throughout his wanderings in the British Atlantic, Whitefield addressed aspects of society that were fragmented, acting as one without an earthly home, dedicated to none and all. In a statement that nicely summarizes Whitefield's ministry, one historian states, "White and Black, male and female, friends and enemies—all flocked in unprecedented numbers to hear the 'Grand Itinerant.' Wherever he visited, people could do anything, it seemed, but stay away."[85]

As a member of the Atlantic community, George Whitefield entered with a fascinating role. As a religious man, a minister of the gospel, he confronted economics, trade, race, and culture with the lens of his brand of Reformed, methodist Christianity. What bound him with disparate locations smattered across the Atlantic was not the price of cotton or rum but a spiritual ideology. It was the conversion of souls and not the accumulation of wealth that led Whitefield's travels, and forged connections will peoples of variegated creeds, classes and races. Tracing the life and career of George Whitefield, from his early beginnings in England and at Oxford, to Scotland, Ireland, Gibraltar, the American colonies and even the Caribbean, a portrait emerges not only of an extraordinary man, but also of the Atlantic world to which he preached his message. As

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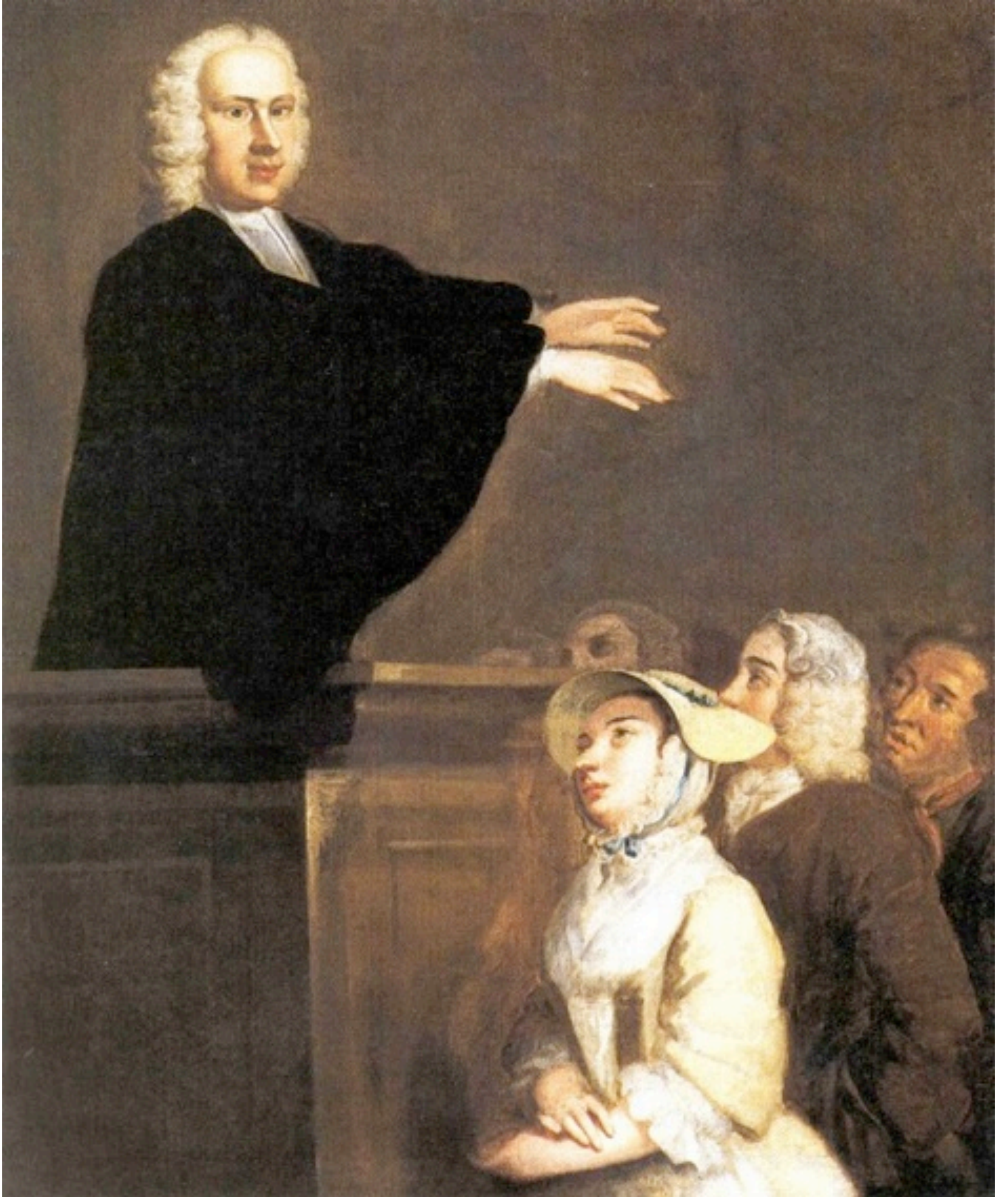
flourish amongst every tribe and nation.(Whitefield *Journals* 419, 428; Whitefield to the Allegany Indians, Reedy Island, May 21, 1740, in *Works*, I, 174, Lovejoy 193-194.)

[85] Stout xiii.

Phillis Wheatley effused, “Toward America—couldst thou do more/ Than leave they native home, the British shore,/ To cross the Atlantic’s wat’ry road…”[86]

[86] Wheatley, “An Elegiac Poem.”



CHAPTER II

'Foreigners or Friends? Aliens or Americans?': Ideological Tensions within the Protestant Home Missions Movement, 1880-1930

"Thus the problem always resolves itself to this at last: God has set for American Protestant Christianity the gigantic task of the ages--the home-foreign-mission task--nothing less than the assimilation of all these foreign peoples who find a home on this continent into a common Americanism so that they shall form a composite American nation--Christian, united, free, and great. What could be more glorious than to have part in the solution of this problem? To this supreme service, young men and women of America, you are called of God. What say you: shall it be Alien or American?"[87]

In January 1907, *The Home Mission Monthly*, a magazine that appeared monthly from 1886-1924 and covered variegated themes pertinent to the home missions movement, published an issue dedicated to "The Problem of the Immigrant."[88] This work tracks the immigrant experience from Ellis Island to the Protestant mission, chronicling the tragic pitfalls and the eventual triumphs, the troubles of assimilation and the virtues of Americanizing Protestantism. In one article, "The Philadelphia Italian Mission," missionary Annie M. Miller, describes her work and the efforts of other home missionaries amongst Italians.[89] She tells of speaking to a group of over "500 Italians-fathers, mothers, and children" recalling, "it was only a little while since the light of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ had shined into their hearts and driven out the darkness of

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[87] Howard B. Grose, *Aliens or Americans?*, Forward Missions Study Course (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1906).

[88] *The Home Mission Monthly: An Illustrated Magazine*, Index to Volume XXI, November 1906, to October, 1907, Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, New York. See also, Kathleen L. Lodwick, Introduction: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.: Women's Board of Home Missions Records, 1866-1958, Pennsylvania State University, http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/32880FM.htm

[89] Annie M. Miller, "The Philadelphia Italian Mission," *The Home Mission Monthly*, January 1907, p 59-61.

sin, ignorance and superstition."[90] As her "heart truly sang for joy" at the sight of so many newly converted, Miller bursts out "What hath God wrought! And what God has done for the Italians of Philadelphia He will do for all those of foreign birth all over our nation."[91] In this short piece, Miller captures the indefatigable tension within the Protestant Home missions Movement. In one breath she debases the Italian Catholic immigrants as shackled with 'darkness, sin, ignorance and superstition' while in the next exulting that the 'light…had shined into their hearts.' Anxious about the influx of immigrants 'of foreign birth,' Miller is simultaneously confident in what God will do across the nation. In these conflicting (if not contradictory) sentiments, Miller's article exemplifies the divergent strains running through the Protestant Home Missions Movement.

In studying the extensive and colorful didactic materials published by adherents and participants in the Home Missions Movement, like the enduring and widely read *Home Mission Monthly*, it is possible to garner historical insight into the ways in which Protestants grappled with a rapidly transforming American landscape. Many of these materials are literary works published directly by the Council for Home Missions or Women's Council for Home Missions as part of an Interdenominational Study Course. Others are more informal urgings from individual missionaries or pastors. Addressing both the severe crises affecting America as well as home missions' potential to meet these problems, the writers and missionaries of these documents belie a deep tension and ambiguity about the state of American society. At moments, the Protestant mainstream appears terrified and exclusive, spewing nativist and racist rhetoric, while at others times,

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

it appears democratic, inclusive and even loving. These somewhat schizophrenic oscillations reveal the ambiguity felt by many in mainstream Protestant America about encroaching modernity, immigration, and cultural pluralism. [92] Envisioning America as a haven for the oppressed yet also wanting to dictate the racial, ethnic, political, and religious character of the country, many Protestants, many Americans, were unsure how to react to the new waves of immigrants streaming into the country, conversely portraying them as menacing threats to white Protestant society and also exciting opportunities for the Church and the nation.[93] Titles such as *Alien or American?*[94] and *Foreigners or Friends?*[95] plainly exhibit such confusion and tension. In these and other Protestant publications, Anti-Catholicism and a vision of America as God's chosen nation lay side by side, as do fear of immigration and the doctrine of the social gospel. These seemingly contradictory ideologies all find expression in the rhetoric of home missions, betraying the profound conflicts present in the minds of many American Protestants.

Before delving into the publications of the Protestant missionaries, it is first necessary to analyze the home missions themselves. As immigration infused a nation

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[92] While some proponents of the Protestant home missions movement may have used fear as a calculated tactic to spark mobilization, undoubtedly most writers felt genuine uncertainty and trepidation, particularly concerning the presence of vast numbers of immigrants.

[93] As Herman Julius, a prominent leader in the Reformed church stated, "Immigration, therefore, is not an accidental, transient phenomenon or a passing event, but a permanent factor in American history; not an overflow of short duration, but a great river; not a blast of wind that soon blows over, but a steady current of air." With this understanding and acceptance of the permanence and significance of immigration in American life, an "intelligent" church should "make permanent provision and arrangement, in order to make it subserve the glory of Christ and His kingdom." Though immigration is closely associated with fear, Ruetenik argues that "immigration may become a great blessing to the nation, if the immigrants are peaceful, intelligent, moral, but if they are turbulent and of a low grade of intelligence, so as to be easily led by demagogues and priests country like America which is ruled by majorities, cannot but feel the gravest apprehensions." Ruetenik, Herman Julius (H.J.), *Missions Among European Immigrants in America* (microform)/ read before the Council of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian form of government, Toronto, Canada, September 1892, ATLA Cataloguing Record, March 17, 1993, 5.

[94] Howard B. Grose, *Aliens or Americans?*, Forward Missions Study Course (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1906).

[95] Thomas Burgess, *Foreigners or Friends?: A Handbook: The Churchman's Approach to the Foreign-Born and their Children,* (New York: JJ Little & Ives Company, Department of Missions and Church Extension, 1921), Preface.

undergoing vast social and societal change, many Americans were left reeling, confused, and energetically determined to shape the character of a nation transforming rapidly.[96] Responding to the flood of immigrants at the turn of the century, specifically from 1886-1934, Protestant denominations in the United States set out to minister to the 'hordes of lost souls' in order to bring them into the fold of Protestant Christianity, both for their sakes and for the sake of Protestantism's supremacy in America.[97] Already active in foreign missions and sending the faithful to the far reaches of the Earth, Protestant denominations increasingly began to see the foreigner next door, calling for a special

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[96] For an illuminative discussion of the battles over immigration and, moreover, between racial and civic national genealogies in American history, see Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). The historiography regarding assimilation and immigrant can also be useful in determining the cultural climate of the host society. For historiographies dealing with this topic, see Gary Gerstle, *Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans*, The Journal of American History Vol. 84, No. 2, (September 1997), 524-558 and Russell A. Kazal, *Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History*, The American Historical Review, Vol. 100, No.2 (Apr., 1995), pp. 437-471.
See also John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*, Atheneum Press, (New York: 1973). In this work, Higham seeks to reconcile the trends in American history of nationalism and nativism, to reveal the reactions of many Americans to changing demographic patterns. Defining nativism as "every type of and level of antipathy toward aliens, their institutions, and their ideas," Higham meticulously analyzes the germination and growth of nativist sentiments alongside changes in immigration and American society (3). This nativism he links directly with a specific nationalistic view, the belief that "some influence originating abroad threatened the very life of the nation within." (4) Varying according to eras of war and peace, prosperity and poverty, confidence and fear, views of immigrants were hardly static, demonstrated in Higham's narrative. For a more contemporary argument over immigration and America's religious identity, see Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? : The Challenges to America's National Identity,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).

[97] As the American Baptist Home Mission Society stated, "The menace of immigration can be dispelled only by accepting our [Protestant] mission to the immigrant and the peril averted by fulfilling the possibilities of that mission." In the same vein, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions claimed, "The coal fields have drawn great numbers of foreigners who come to seek material wealth. They bring with them their political, social and religious ideas, fostered by generations of oppression and repression. The most sacred considerations of human life, patriotism, social welfare, as well as loyalty to Christ demand their evangelization." From this original desire to ameliorate the social ills cause by the influx of immigrants, the home missionaries employed evangelism as "the quickest and most adequate solution." As the missionary and writer Theodore Abel adeptly summarizes, "The belief in evangelization as the most adequate method of Americanization imbued the American churches with a sense of the importance of an undertaking win which evangelization, for the first time in the history of the church, was to be not only an end in itself, but a means for the accomplishment of a social goal affecting vitally the welfare of American society." In this way, prominent church leaders and activists adopted the slogan "Americanization through Evangelization" to gain support for the home missions projects, bringing immigrants into the fold of American life and ensuring Protestantism's hold on the culture. Theodore Abel, *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrant*s, Institute of Social and Religious Research, (New York: 1933), 3-5.

domestic effort.[98] Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist councils were called for the establishment of what came to be known as "home missions," culminating in a National Congress for Home Missions held in Washington D.C. in 1930.[99] These missions sought to teach recent immigrants the supposed truth of Protestant Christianity as well as offer certain material amenities and means for Americanization. As one commentator summed, "Home missions are the attempt of religion to turn the immigrant tide into channels of progress."[100] The Home Missions Movement was a widespread and ambitious endeavor in which members of different denominations all across the nation labored to address the pressing issues facing turn of the century American society. As part of this effort, mission societies published widely, instructing the faithful in how to understand and address a culture convulsing.

Most of the early home missions were the result of individual Protestant denominations reacting to certain apparent needs in their communities. Four major denominations enacted the most vibrant and active home missionary programs:

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[98] For works describing some of these missions, see Vernon Monroe McCombs, *From Over the Border: A Study of the Mexicans in the United States*, (New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement), 1925, R. Douglas Brackenridge and Francisco O. Garcia-Treto, *Iglesia Presbiteriana: A History of Presbyterian and the Mexican Americans in the Southwest* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press), 1974. Heuser, Frederick J., Jr., "Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870-1923," American Presbyterians 73 (Spring 1995): 23-34, McDonald, Kenneth, "The Presbyterian Church and the Social Gospel in California, 1890-1910," American Presbyterians 72 (Winter 1994): 241-52, and Susan M. Yohn, *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1995.

[99] This term, home missions, is intended mainly to differentiate these from the large-scale foreign missions occurring in the same period in which thousands of Americans set out for the lands of the East or Africa intent on winning souls for Christ. Theodore Abel remarked thusly that Protestant home missions could be seen as "undoubtedly an expression of the same aggressive missionary spirit that has led these churches to promote their extensive and energetic missionary enterprises all over the world." Home Missions Organizations targeted variegated groups, among them, "the Southern Mountaineers, migrant workers, the Negroes, the Orientals in the United States, American Indians, the Mormons, the Jewish population, and European immigrants, divided into representatives of the older immigration (Germans and Scandinavians) and of the newer immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, which is largely Catholic." Any domestic evangelism or relief program could fall under the home missions categorization. Abel 3, vi-viii.

[100] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The New Home Missions: An Account of their Social Redirection*, (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1914), 114.

Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist. In the early years, for the most part, these denominations functioned independently and separately. Eventually, however, many realized that by competing with one another they were limiting their effectiveness in bringing the entire nation into the Protestant faith. This realization gave birth to what became known as the Comity Movement. Comity, a word signifying ecumenical unity, was a buzzword at the time, present in almost every statement on Protestant home missions.[101] Truly exemplified by the Home Missions Council, the Comity Movement combined members from various denominations to address home missions issues. This interdenominational cooperation found its fullest expression in the 1928 National Comity Conference held in Cleveland, which later gave birth to the 1930 North American Congress for Home Missions.

Springing from the Comity Movement, great hope flourished for cooperation between denominations, as "antagonism and isolation began to be succeeded by appreciation and the beginning of cooperation and comity."[102] Home missions became the headliner for this unification. "The singularizing of our plural home missions"[103] was demonstrated in the fading distinctions between home missions boards and the individual efforts of churches, as Protestant workers "cast out every remaining vestige of

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[101] The topic of comity is frequently addressed in the didactic materials as authors exhorted their readers to abandon allegiance to denomination and advocate a more effective, unified Protestantism. For example, Theodore Abel includes a section in his book dedicated to a discussion of comity, writing "the particularistic views and weight of personal ambitions and vested interests [of separate denominations] must be overcome before any substantial pooling of resources can be achieved." (Abel 102, 100-102). In a like manner, John Milton Moore's book has an entire chapter dedicated to explaining the transition from "home missions are…" to "home missions is…," signifying the unification of the movement. He strongly asserts, in favor of the comity movement, "without further cooperation and more unity, the fulfillment of the home mission task of the church …is quite impossible." John Milton Moore, *The Challenge of Change: What is Happening in Home Missions*, (New York, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1931, 108, 102-132.

[102] John Milton Moore, *The Challenge of Change: What is Happening in Home Missions*, (New York, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1931), 61.

[103] Moore 127.

denominational pride and sectarian rivalry."[104] While denominational division prioritized theological accuracy and ecclesiastical structures, the home mission effort sought rather to address the practical eradication of social ills and injustices. It was widely held that only through comity and mutual support could the Protestant church address grave societal issues effectively. Yet it was not merely for pragmatic, strategic reasons that churches began to cooperate but also because they increasingly regarded division as "a continuing denial of the essential genius of the message and mission of Jesus Christ" with comity "comprehended in a single word—fellowship."[105] The Comity Movement reveals the overarching desire for cooperation and singular vision for the Home Missions Movement and the widespread, endemic nature of thought. For this reason, it is significant not only that this pan-Protestant unification was imagined and longed for, but also that it was, at least in part, realized. Thus, the Comity Movement, as expressed through the discussed councils and collaborations, allows for a historical approximation of a unified Protestant mindset and worldview.

In this spirit of fellowship, the North American Home Missions Congress met in Washington DC, December 1-5, 1930 under the auspices on the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, as well as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. According to a published Report of Commissions, Addresses and Findings, the Congress was the "first meeting of its kind, and was without question the most significant and creative interdenominational conference on Home Missions ever held."[106] This comprehensive, thoroughly planned gathering was, in the

[104] Moore 61-62.
[105] Moore 63.
[106] North American Home Missions Congress: Reports of Commissions, Addresses and Findings, Washington D.C., December 1-5, 1930.

words of W.R. King the Secretary of the Committee of Arrangements, "a revelation of the bigness, importance, urgency and opportunity of the home missionary enterprise."[107] According to their records, over 800 individuals attended the Congress from 37 societies and boards, representing over thirty different denominations in North America. This Congress was the result of three years of planning, at the behest of the Five Year Program of Survey and Adjustment of the Home Missions Council, which was founded out of the Church Comity Conference of 1928.[108] This multi-confessional, multiracial meeting purported a cooperative vision for home missions, producing a conclusive, "statesmanlike" document to instruct missionaries and churches, the "Magna Carta of a new cooperative Home Missions."[109]

Presiding over the Congress, Reverend Charles L. White stated its general purpose and resolution, claiming the "missionary task is clear as crystal. One thing we do…we are here to devise ways and means for reaching with the gospel the peoples of neglected areas both old and new."[110] The Congress, inspired by the findings of the Institute for Social and Religious Research and the nascent movement towards interdenominational comity, set out to "devise ways in which, with the finest spiritual economies, we can carry forward and coordinate our mission work in a continent seething with intellectual, social and economic changes, and do it without duplication agencies and with a united Protestant front."[111] Drawing upon this spirit, the Congress supplied a

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[107] NAHMC viii-ix.
[108] NAHMC viii.
[109] NAHMC ix. Exhibiting the council's emphasis on racial reconciliation, Dr. Mordecai Johnson attended and delivered a speech entitled "Christian Missions and the American Negro," making a "masterful plea for his race" which was "one of the greatest addresses of the Congress."
[110] NAHMC x-xi.
[111] NACHM xii. The Congress has a decidedly Progressive tone, with an emphasis on effectiveness and economy, an administratively streamlined and organized endeavor. To this end, White claims the Congress' "keywords" to be: "no community neglected: no missionary work duplicated: no missionary funds wasted:

vision for home missions as a collective Christian outpouring, organized and unified. As White states “yesterday we toiled apart, in the future we will triumph together.”[112] The Washington D.C. Congress thus “declared to the American people and to the world that the day of opportunism is past and that issues must be faced in terms of a larger and wiser statesmanship” as well as “set forth impressively the immense size and complexity of the home mission enterprise and the wide range of its interests.”[113] “In fine” one observer proclaimed, the Congress “was a stirring and hopeful expression of what is happening to home missions, and promised that the home missions of tomorrow will be characterized by increasingly competent, courageous, and Christian churchmanship.”[114] The guiding principle of the Comity Movement and the Congress itself was that, confronting the insurmountable challenges facing America, Protestant Christianity could have an impact only through collective, concerted action. In this sense, the conclusions drawn by the Congress were hoped to supply a conceptual map for missionaries of all Protestant denominations, spurring them on and guiding their steps.[115]

Thusly launched by divine and domestic decree, both fearful and hopeful for the country’s future, Protestants set out on an effort to Christianize and Americanize the immigrants appearing across the country through home missions, established for the propagation of the gospel amongst foreign and mainly Catholic immigrants through both

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all studying the work of each: each working for the success of all: progress by reciprocity and spiritual conquest through missionary cooperation.” (xii-xiii).

[112] NACHM xiii.

[113] Moore 67-68. The Congress also “lifted into high visibility the effect which educational and economic changes are having on human life and must therefore have upon missionary programs. It pronounced its conviction that home missions must think of the salvation of society as well as of individuals, and that the teachings of Christ are sufficient for meeting all the problems of the collective life. It confessed to shortcomings and limitations, and while pleading for larger cooperation and unity, asserted than even this achievement would be an empty gain unless Christ shall vitalize anew the church and all its work.”

[114] Moore 68.

[115] The Congress offered five concrete steps, which interestingly, in the case of the civic one, sometimes included political activism. For example, when discussing the strides being made amongst ‘Orientals,’ the findings committee recommended a change in restrictive immigration legislation. (NACHM 95-96.)

religious instruction and social relief work. There are really two separate approaches that align chronologically in the history of home missions to immigrants: the approach through formal church work, comprised of mainly foreign language churches, from 1880-1905, and the approach through the social program that gained prominence from 1905 through the 1930s.[116]

The primary and initial purpose of Protestant home missions was one of religious conversion. This decidedly evangelical bent differentiated home missions from mere social aid societies or secular settlement houses.[117] Rather, as the American Baptist Home Mission Society stated clearly, "the aim of missions is spiritual."[118] At first, home missions began under the guise of individual Protestant denominations using their congregants' tithes to reach specific communities. As Harlan Paul Douglass succinctly stated, home missions "are the churches themselves at their task of redeeming out nation…agencies of the churches collectively"-- "the Christian work of denominational missionary boards operating in the United States."[119] Missions usually began with the "initiative of self-appointed missionaries or of workers sent out by a church or denominational board to organize a center in some immigrant colony."[120] Most of these early missions were located in rural areas, like mining towns in Pennsylvania or migrant farming towns in the Southwest. Once there, missionaries conducted street meetings, held

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[116] Abel 18-19.
[117] For literature focusing on more secular aspects of Progressive social reform, see Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The* Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992), and Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[118] As quoted in Abel 5.
[119] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The New Home Missions: An Account of their Social Redirection*, (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada), 1914.xi-xii.
[120] Abel 23.

revivals, and traveled home-to-home distributing bibles and other religious pamphlets, with titles such as "A Welcome to your New Home Country."[121] Teaching also became a main avenue through which Protestant home missionaries and evangelists inculcated religious doctrines and procured conversions. In the beginning, however, most of the church's work with immigrants was evaluated based upon numbers of foreign language speakers present in Protestant congregations. One source ranks this among home missions' four leading denominations, noting that 6.3% of Baptist, 5.4 % of Congregationalist, 3.5% of Presbyterian, and 3.3% of Methodist church members possessed a non-English tongue in 1913.[122] In order to bring individuals into the church, missionaries often met with individual members of the community, usually through various relief work efforts.

Relief work and an emphasis on material and social betterment eventually expanded to form the second major phase of home missions. According to a survey conducted by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, over 60 of 160 randomly selected immigrants attribute their first interaction with the home missions to some sort of relief work. Home missionary Theodore Abel notes that even this number may be too low and that the real percentage is more like 80%.[123] This figure reveals the extent to which religious initiative gave way to a more secular conception as home missions adopted more of an emphasis on material and educational advancement, adapting to the prominent trends of the progressive era, most notably the social gospel. Resulting from this new conceptualization of religion's role in society, home missions began "clubs,

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[121] Ibid.
[122] Barnes 145.
[123] Abel 29.

classes, nurseries and kindergardens" as well as religious programs.[124] Many were aimed particularly at young people, such as the YMCA. This shift may also reveal the ways in which immigrant responses to the missions were favorable in terms of receiving relief, education, and assistance and decidedly less so in terms of receiving the Protestant faith, converting, and joining the church.

The location of missions also shifted over time from more rural, smaller settlements to major urban cities. Dr. Harlan Paul Douglass, an absolutely prolific writer on the subject of the social gospel and the church's role in society, particularly addressed the urbanization of church ministry. In *The City's Church*, he deeply considers the role of the church in the city. With industry booming and demanding immigrant workers, Douglass says, "the city is inevitable."[125] "The city" he writes, "is the best thing which God has yet achieved through man, and its better fortunes for all the future are bound up with the agency which can interpret its life and transfigure its work," presumably the city church.[126] Claiming "the slums of Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco tell identical stories" of hardship and difficulty, especially for immigrants, Douglass urges the church to go urban and work where the need is the most pressing. In a similar manner, Charles Hatch Sears' *The Crowded Ways*, emitted by the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement, specifically describes "life in the American city" in order to clearly relay the realities facing potential converts and Protestant evangelists.[127]

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[124] Abel 70.
[125] Douglass 94.
[126] Douglass 109.
[127] Charles Hatch Sears, *The Crowded Ways*, (New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education Movement), 1929, 7.

These changes within Protestant home missions, like the rhetoric employed to discuss them, indicate profound dislocations within the movement. From spiritual evangelism to social amelioration, from more rural areas to more urban ones, the emphases of the home mission movement subtly transformed through the years, reflecting shifting attitudes and understandings within Protestantism.

With this basic framework for understanding what constitutes the Home Mission Movement, it is possible to properly analyze the motivations of the home missionaries and visionaries as is revealed through the didactic pamphlets, magazines, and books distributed through the movement. Many of these materials were supported through funding and research conducted by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, or ISRR. Founded in 1921 "as an independent agency to apply scientific method to the study of socio-religious phenomena," and funded by John D. Rockefeller, this group lasted until 1934.[128] The ISRR was essentially a continuation of the survey work done by the Interchurch World Movement, which ended in 1920 and produced five surveys concerning the socio-religious situation in America.[129] The stated mission of the ISRR was "to increase the effectiveness for good of the social and religious forces of the world, especially those of Protestant Christianity, by promoting cooperation and economical use of resources and by bringing to the tasks to be accomplished the help of scientific inquiry,

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[128] The director of this Institute was the illustrious John R. Mott, who worked extensively in Christian ministry and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946. Mott conducted most of his work in foreign missions and is widely known in this context.[128] The Institute for Social and Religious Research thus illustrates the ways in which Progressive leanings within the Church affected not only missions overseas, but subsequent missions in America. See Robert C. Mackie, Layman Extraordinary: John R. Mott, 1865-1955, (New York: New York Association Press, 1965) and Charles Hopkins, John R. Mott, 165-1955 A Biography, (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishers, 1979).

[129] Galen M. Fisher, *The Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1921-1934: A sketch of its Development and Work*, foreword by John R. Mott, 6-7.

accurate knowledge and broad horizon," illustrating the scope and organization of the missions.[130]

Out of this effort to scientifically and precisely quantify even the spiritual emerge some of the best sources from the Protestant Home Missions Movement. Many are informational and instructional pamphlets and primers that were distributed throughout Christian congregations and circles. These works, published by the Home Missions Council, the Women's Board for Home Missions, and other organizations, provide valuable information about the work being done as well as an impassioned plea for its continuation through financial and volunteer support. For a time, the Home Missions Council actually printed an Interdenominational Home Missions Study Course of several books deemed helpful for those interested in learning about and participating in home missions.

Yet, admittedly, these sources are not without their own difficulties and limitations. Written with a specific purpose, to instruct and admonish current or prospective home missionaries as well as foster financial and ecclesiastical support, these official Protestant documents cannot be taken as strict history. Vicki Ruiz tackles this issue in "*Dead Ends or Gold Mines?*," an article in which she weighs the efficacy of using missionary records in history writing.[131] Focusing on the Methodist Rose Gregory Houchen Settlement in Segundo Barrio or South El Paso, Ruiz heavily employs the writings and records of Anglo missionary men and women. Although she acknowledges the bent of certain records, Ruiz also maintains their usefulness, concluding that it is possible as a historian to "sift through the bias, the self-congratulation, and the hyperbole

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[130] Fisher 8.
[131] Vicki Ruiz, "Dead Ends or Gold Mines?: Using Missionary Records in Mexican-American Women's History," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1991), 33-56.

to gain insight into women's lives." Though Protestant primers, like missionary records, contain certain prejudices and slants, they are nonetheless valuable in gaining insight into the Protestant Home Missions Movement; and moreover, into the ways Protestants envisioned and understood it.

It is to these sources that we now turn in order to identify the underlying tensions evident in many Protestant writers--fear and acceptance, exclusivity and inclusivity, hatred and love. The contentious questions of who belongs in America, and on what basis, indeed haunted the American Protestant church just as it baffled law and policy makers.[132] The first theme evident in the Protestant home missions movement is Anti-Catholicism, articulated in a fervent desire to convert the 'heathen Catholic immigrant' to the true light of Christianity, Protestantism.

By no means novel in Protestant thought, Anti-Catholicism possesses a long history. Reaching a fever pitch around the turn of the century and during the First World War, a hardening racial hierarchy melded with the virulent anti-Catholicism first expressed over the Irish in the 1830s and 1840s. Encountering an encompassing mixture of racial, cultural, and religious hostility, these new immigrants faced discrimination on multiple levels: as non-whites, as Catholics, as culturally 'inferior' peoples. David Roediger and others have provocatively explored this theme in the realm of whiteness studies, noting how race became a catch-all to convey inferiority. In this way, the Irish came were viewed as non-white, unfit for American society, and slaves to the Pope,

[132] The debate over who to include in the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, which legislated national origins quotas, reveals this confusion as policymakers, shackled with racism, sought to create a system in which certain groups were excluded from the nation even as America boasted its identity as the great haven for the masses. American lawmakers struggled to protect America's open and inviting image erstwhile maintaining certain racial and ethnic standards that they saw as necessary for the preservation of America as a white Protestant nation.

utterly excluded on both republican and racial terms.[133] This exclusionary Anti-Catholicism appeared forcefully throughout American society, creating an exceedingly negative image of Catholicism, one that would, in turn, launch missionary efforts to liberate immigrant adherents from their 'popish' faith into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Anti-Catholicism, as Andrew Greeley commented, is "as American as blueberry pie," and has infused American life from its inception.[134] Typically, it has adopted the form of both theological and political protestations to Catholicism. In this way, virulent anti-Catholic rhetoric reveals not only intense geographical and racial prejudice, but also very real theological concerns, especially for devout Protestant leaders and adherents. These descendents of America's Puritanical Protestantism sneered at Catholic iconography and rituals, condemning these practices as ignorant and even pagan. In1890, for example, Jacob Stanley published *Dialogues on Popery* in which he lambasted Catholicism, saying, "Popery is at once hostile to the spiritual interests, and to the civil liberties of the community."[135] In dialogue format, Stanley presented theological and historical debates between erudite and thoughtful Protestants such as the apostles Paul, Peter, or Luke, and ignorant, bumbling, Irish Catholics called Murphy, Patrick, or O'Leary. This work reinforces negative Catholic cultural stereotypes while also denigrating certain religious tenets. Take the opening interaction. Paul asks Murphy if he has seen the bull, or edict, of Pope Pius the Seventh to which Murphy responds, "Indeed I

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[133] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, (London: Verso Publishers, 1991).
[134] Andrew M. Greeley, *An Ugly Little Secret: Anti-Catholicism in North America*, (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel Inc., 1977).
[135] Jacob Stanley, *Dialogues on Popery*, (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1890), 9.

have; and it rejoices my heart as much as if I had drunk six noggins of whisky."[136] Playing upon both sacred and secular stereotypes, Stanley effectively (and even entertainingly) promotes Anti-Catholic prejudice, portraying Catholics as both thoughtlessly chained to Rome and prone to alcoholism. Other topics covered include purgatory, indulgences, transubstantiation, saint and image worship, confession and absolution, and the infallibility of the Papal Church, issues that already provoked Protestant theological concerns and anxieties.

Popular rhetoric and cartoons as well as political parties and formal movements comprise a salient gauge of the public hostility to Catholicism.[137] Justin Nordstrom, in his book *Danger on the Doorstep*, uses this print culture to identify prominent and widespread cultural and political fear of Catholicism within the American mainstream.[138] Nordstrom's argument relies on the premise that, during the Progressive era particularly, "Anti-Catholic literature… enjoyed such a prominent place in the American cultural landscape …by infusing the emerging themes of progressivism, masculinity, and nationalism, central to print culture…within the broader framework of America's long standing anti-Catholic traditions."[139]

He especially "explores the critical overlap between Anti-Catholicism and nationalism…demonstrating that an understanding of the former is incomplete if not rooted in the later."[140] Many nativists presumed that "the Catholic mentality is wholly

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[136] Stanley 13.
[137] See the work of Jurgen Habermas, who, in his discussion of the public sphere, highlights the importance of print culture in manufacturing popular opinion. Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* (Cambridge: First MIT Press, 1989).
[138] Justin Nordstrom, *Danger on the Doorstep: Anti-Catholicism and American Print Culture in the Progressive Era,* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press) 1996). See also: Les Wallace, The Rhetoric of Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association, 1887-1911, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).
[139] Nordstrom 3.
[140] Ibid.

incompatible with Americanism."[141] In this strain, Nordstrom's main historiographical contribution is his claim that Anti-Catholicism gained feverous support because it tapped into a brand of American political nationalism.[142] For this reason, many cartoons and articles focus not on Catholicism's damning religious consequences, but on Rome's danger to America, especially in terms of its infiltration of slavish thinking into free American citizenry. The anger, then, is directed at the greedy and manipulative priests, the agents of the seed of Rome, and not as much at individual Catholics who are viewed as 'dupes,' enslaved by the propagandist fear campaigns and tyranny of the Old World. Jason Duncan expresses a similar sentiment in his work "*Citizens or Papists*?," which exposes the supposed contradiction of Catholic identity between loyalty to country or to Church.[143] For these writers, the fundamental issue is not only a theological one, but a contention over whether or not Catholics are capable of citizenship in a democracy.

Indeed, Anti-Catholic rhetoric augmented in importance as it melded into American nationalism. Anti-Catholicism "revealed a recognition of and abiding concern for the fundamental changes confronting American society," so that Catholicism became a convenient scapegoat for the excesses of modernity."[144] Using ten Anti-Catholic newspapers dating from 1910-1919, Nordstrom analyzes religious discriminations within a civic context, showing how these papers were bent on "uncovering destructive secrets and uprooting corruption."[145] Incited by very real fears, these xenophobic papers issued headlines such as "Roman Catholicism, the Deadliest Menace to our Liberties and our

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[141] Nordstrom 29.
[142] Nordstrom 209.
[143] Jason K. Duncan, *Citizens or Papists?: The Politics of Anti-Catholicism in New York, 1685-1821*, (New York: Fordham University Press), 2005.
[144] Nordstrom 4.
[145] Nordstrom 9-10.

Civilization," "Cry for Help from the Convent Walls" and "Roman Catholic Designs on the American Nation."[146]

In fact, there emerged out of this panic an entire genre of literature. Deriving from both a desire to uncover salacious, soapy plotlines and a deep distrust of Catholic hierarchy, exposes revealed the dark underside of priest and nuns. One such book is *The Curse of Rome*, a "frank confession of a Catholic Priest, and a complete expose of the immoral tyranny of the Church of Rome."[147] In this volume, the "Very Rev. Canon" Joseph F. MacGrail, a former Navy Chaplain, rails against the enslavement of Catholic priests to confessionalism and celibacy. Renouncing the priesthood, he defiantly confesses that he is "proud and sensual" but counters, "that does not prove the Roman Catholic Church is justified in holding me in immoral and dishonest bondage, by refusing me the right to resign honorably from the priesthood, nor does it prove the truth or justice of other defective teachings and discipline of the Church."[148] One of the most remarkable things about this scandal-driven literature is how prevalent and prolific it actually was. Far from being the crazed rantings of extremists, these sentiments were widely distributed and eagerly absorbed by the Protestant reading public, with what Nordstrom calls "tremendous public appeal and staggering circulations."[149]

Mark Massa also addresses Anti-Catholicism as prevalent and significant in America. He quotes Arthur Schlesinger Jr. who claimed that the "culturally ubiquitous" conception of Catholicism as "superstitious, corrupt, undemocratic, and 'unAmerican'" is

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[146] Nordstrom 10.
[147] Joseph F. MacGrail, *The Curse of Rome*, (New York: Nyvall Press, 1907).
[148] MacGrail 90.
[149] Nordstrom 11.

in fact "the deepest bias in the history of the American people." [150] Some historians, like Ray Billington, attempt to explain this obviously rooted discrimination, what Massa calls 'the Catholic otherness,' in deep Protestant cultural, intellectual, and sociological strains.[151] Massa argues that the discrimination derives from the existence of a "North American public culture," a "profoundly Protestant ordering of human society" that he contends continues to permeate the American psyche.[152] Massa eloquently and purposefully catalogues the vast differences-- theological, philosophical, and epistemological--between Catholicism and Protestantism. The two worldviews, he concedes, are fundamentally different, espousing divergent conceptions of man's relationship to God and to the surrounding world.[153]

An examination of Anti-Catholicism is essential to understanding the cultural preconception of Protestant home missions and their efforts to supplant the pernicious effects of Catholic thinking by Protestantizing and Americanizing immigrants. While vociferous Anti-Catholicism often slipped into blinding hatred and hysteria, it also mobilized the Protestant religious community into forming coalitions for conversion. As Theodore Abel commented in his instructive work *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants,* one prominent purpose of these missions was to "maintain the dominant position of the Protestant church in American civilization."[154] Many of the pamphlets and literature of home missions clearly make Protestantization a priority. Protestantism was

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[150] Mark S. Massa, S.J., *Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice*, (New York: The Crossword Publishing Company), 2003, 7. This book takes a more contemporary frame, examining Anti-Catholic trends throughout US History as manifested explicitly in the years following World War II in order to demonstrate the sheer pervasiveness of Anti-Catholicism in American thought and history.
[151] Massa 7. See Ray A. Billington, *Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Missionary Movement*, 1800-1860, The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Dec., 1935), pp. 361-384.
[152] Massa 7.
[153] Massa 51-57.
[154] Abel 6.

thought to inhabit a position of clear opposition to the Catholic faith, which was regarded as "a religion of autocracy and aristocracy with sensuous forms which appeal to the imagination and hold men in their power."[155] The inflated evils of the Catholic Church dominated religious rhetoric at this time, yet, Abel counters, "the real issue as far as the Protestant churches are concerned, is not so much the alleged inadequacy of the Catholic Church as the concern for their [the Protestant churches'] own position in American life, which is thought to be threatened by the influx of large masses of Catholics."[156] This apprehension thus reflects the nativist fear infesting many Protestant Americans who imagined their hold on the hearts and souls of the nation slipping away as foreign beliefs flooded ashore. Anti-Catholic sentiments, deriving from both spiritual and cultural anxieties, certainly affected the motivations behind home missions, fostering within Protestants an invigorated desire to counter a dangerously encroaching Catholicism.

Yet, right alongside fear of Catholicism and the 'tyranny of popery' existed a notion that God had ordained America as an exceptional nation and that He could and would use immigration, even that of Catholics, in refining and perfecting America. Contributing, a pervasive belief proliferated in America's special destiny as a city on a hill, a light of Protestant truth and democracy in a world ridden with political and religious fascism and anarchy. As one prominent Protestant leader articulated it, America is "predestined by Providence for a special purpose in the development of humanity."[157] Exemplifying this divine mission for America, some posited that God graciously gave

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[155] Abel 7, and Brooks, C.A. *Through the Second Gate*, 1922, 10-11.
[156] Abel 8. This abated as the years went on and by the 1930s much of the virulent anti-Catholicism gave way to calmer efforts. In interviews conducted with leaders on the home mission boards, Abel found surprising tolerance and resistance to proselytizing in favor of programs in fostering good character and religious devotion, regardless of denomination (10).
[157] Ruetenik 3.

America immunity from the Old World struggles of oppression, martyrdom and war, "in order that, when the Reformation came with freedom and a fuller light, it might find here a country free of abuses, traditions, and institutions grown venerable by age."[158] Even America's late founding and relative youth contributed to a feeling of ordained greatness and responsibility. This sentiment is colorfully expressed in a book entitled *God's Melting Pot*, published by the Council of Women for Home Missions Interdenominational Home Mission Study Center in 1913, and dedicated, revealingly, "To the Council of Women for Home Missions, Which seeks to know the mind of the Divine Alchemist for His Melting Pot-America."[159] In this small volume, Laura Geould Craig makes a case for home missions based on her ardent defense of God's divine intentions for America, including the conversion of immigrants to Protestantism.[160]

After briefly describing the rapid increase in immigration, Craig asserts that this painful time in America's history is divinely ordained for the nation's good, saying, "Discomfort, suffering, even agony? Yes- but out of it will come the perfected product, the ideal sought by the Great Alchemist. And since it is His hand that directs the temperature and His eye which sees that which shall be, we, the crude rough ore, may wait in full assurance of hope the certain transformation after the pattern of the

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[158] Ruetenik 4.

[159] Laura Gerould Craig, *America, God's Melting Pot: A Parable Study*, Council of Women for Home Missions Interdenominational Home Mission Study Center, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913).

[160] Much of this centers upon the characterization of America as exceptional and divinely chosen by God as a land of freedom and democracy. Chronicling God's intent for Protestant America, Craig writes, "Divine Providence seems to have hidden the melting pot from sight of the Old world until the fullness of the time when it was needed for God's purpose. Had America been discovered even one century earlier, its Christianity would have been that of the European Church in the deepest darkness of the night that preceded the dawn of the Reformation."(43) She continues to articulate this powerful religious myth of American exceptionalism, saying, "God's intent [was] that the New World should not become the domain of the Old World monarchies and hierarchies" (44).

Master."[161] She further claims that "God's purpose is for the entire content of His melting-pot. He is not willing that a soul in America shall escape His redemptive process."[162]

This faith in a guiding hand does not signify that Craig is unconcerned with the racial and spiritual makeup of the new immigrants. She certainly is, concluding that "while almost half of our total foreign element in 1910 were born in northwest Europe and considerably familiar in these respects, over a third came from southern and eastern Europe, being nearly as strange as Orientals."[163] She agonizes over the various racial and cultural characteristics of each arriving immigrant group, their physical and historical inherencies, drawing broad racialized conclusions. This discussion causes her to address how "the growing impact of the more alien ingredients gives cause for question whether the contents of the melting pot are in danger of being cooled to a degree that will stop the reducing process," in essence, whether the new immigrants are incompatible with God's melting pot.[164]

Yet, inculcated with American exceptionalism and hopeful in democracy, Craig victoriously concludes that it is indeed, as Werner Sollors would term, an issue of consent

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[161] Craig 10.

[162] Craig 14-15. In a striking passage conjuring up the playwright Israel Zangwill, she writes, "we of the great, splendid native race whom the white man is slowly learning to respect-we with Plymouth Rock as our Immigration Station-we whose deepest stain is measured by the white man's blood in our veins-we of the swarthy Mexicans, the stolid Eskimos, the volatile Italians-we from the lands of the midnight sun and the domains of the Great White Czar-we with eyes "cut bias" and our neighbors from "India's coral strand"-we, one and all are in the melting pot." See Israel Zangwill's play, in which the protagonist David exclaims, "America is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are meting and reforming…Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians-into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American." *The Melting Pot*: A Drama in Four Acts, New York, 1909, as quoted in Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p 51.

[163] Craig 20-21, 23, 28.

[164] Craig 25.

and not descent.[165] According to Craig, "the balances of God weigh only character…God's melting pot depends on character; and character depends on relationship to God."[166] "America," she rhapsodizes, "has not failed to be a fountain of perpetual illusions and delusions to the world's dreamers. American ideals regarding individual independence and social equality, and the privilege of becoming a part of 'we the people' who govern are strong appeals to native democracy."[167] In this estimation, anyone, regardless of race or complexion, if willing to abide by certain democratic, and, in this case, certain Protestant, principles can be considered an American. With this mindset, many like Craig came to view immigration as part of God's mysterious blessing to America, ensuring her special place as a beacon of democracy and Christianity.[168]

According to this philosophy of immigration infused with the concept of divine ordination, God ultimately possesses the grand scheme, but the execution of the divine plan is left to individuals. In other words, "the process waits upon the attention, obedience, and responsibility of those touched by these currents."[169] In order to enact the divine melting pot and ensure the exceptionalism of America, missionaries must go to the immigrants, sharing both Protestant and American ideals. Offering that "the vision, faith and the courage of American Protestants have produced the most notable philanthropic and missionary movements of modern times," Craig sees these Protestant missions as the

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[165] See Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also Gerstle's discussion of civic nationalism in *American Crucible*. According to Gerstle, even Theodore Roosevelt, like Craig, expressed simultaneously an exclusionary racist ideology and one of inclusion into the American polity.
[166] Craig 43.
[167] Craig 38-39.
[168] Craig further elaborates, positing that America needs an infusion of immigrants to reinvigorate the national character. She says, "Christian America needs the immigrants who need lifting; and many who, left to themselves, would lower our standards, want to be lifted." (40). Another Protestant home missionary, Harlan Paul Douglass, commented that the coming of vast bodies of human beings cherishing strong and definite idealistic expectations certainly adds to the moral resources of the nation. We import energy and faith when we receive the stranger within our gates." (Douglass 112).
[169] Craig 15.

most viable vehicle for God's purposes.[170] She insists, "the truer American patriotism looks upon America as the land in which God's people of every race are brought to dwell together in security and brotherliness, as fellow citizens of the best country on earth," hopeful in the harmonizing and unifying effects of Protestantism and Americanism.[171] Craig enthusiastically concludes that "it must be the whole nation for Christ. We must cease dividing up large cities into sections and labeling them the Jewish quarter, the Latin quarter, the Bohemian quarter, the Chinese quarter" since "surely upon faces of Christians of every racial mold,--Indian, Negro, Chinese and Anglo-Saxon,--the imprint of the stamp of Christ is readily recognized."[172]

Another woman, Mary Barnes, also reiterates this theme in her book *The New America*, published, like Craig's volume, in 1913.[173] Written at the behest of the Council of Women for Home Missions and dedicated to "the strangers within our gates," this work displays, like Craig's, an ideological melding of immigration with God's benevolent purpose for American greatness. In her volume, Barnes conceives of America as a country fundamentally bound by ideology. She contends, "without a common vision, a common ideal, the nation could not have been born."[174] It is this original spirit of democracy and patriotism that ensures, in the face of change, the continuation of the American experiment. As she puts it, "Should the vision fade,--should the ideal fade--, the nation could not survive."[175] The Americanization of immigrants therefore is of utmost importance, absolutely vital to the survival of America. Her discussion of the

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[170] Craig 50. As she puts it, "The century has demanded that foreign missions demand home missions and that home missions cannot be kept at home"(74).
[171] Craig 62-67.
[172] Craig 89, 96.
[173] Mary Clark Barnes and Lemuel Call Barnes, *The New America: A Study of Immigration*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1913), http://www.archive.org/stream/newamericaastud00missgoog
[174] Barnes 36.
[175] Ibid.

newer Southern and Eastern European immigrants reflects this thought. After describing the immigration patterns, alcoholism, insanity, pauperism, sanitary conditions, criminality, and juvenile delinquency, among other things, Barnes poses a question on the mind of many: "Is there room for such citizens in America?" In this concern, latent fear and uncertainty creeps into Barnes' otherwise optimistic work. However, she squelches her inner hesitations, purporting that even "if [immigrants] lack full enlightenment as to the principles of freedom and of democratic government, "they soon will be "apt pupils under sympathetic teaching." [176]

Emphasizing the essential nature of Protestantization in this teaching process, Barnes quotes Bayard Taylor in a poem that lauds the Protestant origins of the nation, "the unblenching Puritan will," the "Huguenot grace," the "Quaker truth and sweetness" all of which established America as an ordained land which "gathers the chosen of her seed from the hunted of every crown and creed."[177] This exceptional calling to God's blessed land compels immigrant arrivals to "forget their sword and slogan, kith and clan" and rather combine, as "in one strong race all races here unite."[178] This fascinating poem melds Americanism and Protestantism indistinguishably together, reflecting the historical views and future hopes of many home missionaries. Barnes then directly claims that there is "no more patriotic service, no greater Christian service" than helping Americanize immigrants.[179] She hopefully concludes that "millions of men, women and children have come from the East to find a vague Something Better than they have known" and, so, "American Christians will see and respond to their opportunity for

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[176] Barnes 68.
[177] Barnes 38.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Barnes 97. This occurs mainly, in Barnes' estimation, through language programs, which allow immigrants to read the Bible in English.

personal service in giving of our best to those who have come."[180] In this way, immigration is seen as contributing to the fulfillment of God's divine purpose for America, as society "will be enriched…by the inspiration of millions of Spirit-filled temples of Life," the converted immigrants.[181] Already, according to Barnes, Protestantized immigrants are embodying that divine promise, with a "peculiarly refreshing" faith of "simplicity and fervor."[182] In fact, she triumphantly and optimistically states, immigrants provide "the new blood that American Christianity needs," bringing "an apostolic quality which is inspiring."[183]

Not merely the sensationalized exclamations of middle class women like Craig or Barnes, the idea of a divinely ordained new race of Americans was echoed at the mostly-male 1930 Home Missions Congress, the apogee of the Home Missions Movement. Congress President Charles White referred to America's recent immigrants as "a polyglot people slowly amalgamating to make a new race which, if Christianized, will bless the world, and if paganized may be its ruin."[184] He, too, saw immigrants, if converted, as a blessing to an America predestined for greatness.

Along with the tension between disdain for Catholicism and belief in God's divine decree for America, Protestant Home Missions also contained a fundamental internal conflict between fear of immigration, modernization, and urbanization, and the emergent doctrine of the social gospel that advocated meeting the needy in the cities and chaos. Amongst many mainstream Protestants rampant fear in the face of de-stabilizing

[180] Barnes 98.
[181] Barnes 99.
[182] Barnes 146.
[183] Ibid.
[184] NACHM xi. White predicates his statement to the council on the grounds of America's unique status in the world and Christianity's special responsibility to the emergent nation.

modernization, industrialization, immigration, and urbanization proliferated. Noting the massive societal change, John Milton Moore, a Baptist minister, asks, "What has happened?"[185] He replies sardonically, "only a revolution, that is all": "the breakdown of authority, the passing of Victorian standards and the rise of larger lawlessness; the development of mass production, investment trusts, and installment plans; the experimental phenomena of electrons and radioactivity, the marvels of astrophysics and the startling work of Einstein; the influence of Bolshevism and Fascism, and a score of similar evidences of a new world of thought and action."[186] These comprise for Moore and many of his readers veritable "political, industrial, financial, scientific, religious, social and psychological" revolutions.[187] The learned Moore then traces a teleological history of civilization, proclaiming God to be the only immutable force in a world wracked by change and instability. In this way, "Revolution in thought comes through scientific discovery, transformation of ways of living is wrought by invention, material prosperity builds a new earth…but ultimate human need persists through all such changes. It is the continuing element, the abiding constant, in our changing America."[188] This human need is addressed through Protestant Christianity, the only antidote this minister sees for the social ills threatening Americans. Thus, the frenzied list of disastrous changes constitutes a battle cry for Protestantism, which must reassert, as Moore frames it, the right and stabilizing way of life. Though unpredictable, the current

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[185] Moore 3. Using extremely vivid language, Moore says that the "whirling center of this modern cyclonic disturbance… is remaking our institutions and systems and changing our ideals and ways." (3).
[186] Moore 3-4. These transformations, he posits, are "innumerable…things quite unforeseen and unimaginable. "
[187] Moore 4. "Take time to ponder that," he threatens his readers.
[188] Moore 7.

times "need not plunge us into pessimism," he offers, "but it cannot possibly justify an easy optimism. It calls for immensely increased home mission wisdom and devotion."[189]

The Home Missions Movement thus became the solution for the tumult of the twentieth century, bringing human need into contact with the religious fulfillment and revealing "anew that it is not by might nor organization, but by this Spirit [of God] that America will be saved."[190] In these circumstances, it was thought, Christianity could not merely rely on tradition and the weight of time as its strength, but must adapt its strategies to meet society. "It is a new America," Moore says, "in which the home mission finds itself working today…The Christian movement must adjust itself to changed and changing conditions, a far from easy task for institutions that are essentially cautious and conservative."[191] Moore subsequently categorizes home missions as an attempt by the Church to adapt to new patterns and issues in the world and to meet them with God's unchanging truth.

Along with fear of modernization, panic over waves of new immigrants also fomented in this era, contributing to a renewed dedication to Americanize and Protestantize. The "invading army" of immigrants, as one home missions study course termed it, created a huge ministry opportunity for the Protestant church.[192] Prominent church leaders and activists even adopted the slogan "Americanization through Evangelization" to gain support for home missions projects.[193] Thomas Burgess explores

[189] Ibid.
[190] Moore 35.
[191] Moore 13. Moore himself is not a strict traditionalist who laments change in every form. Rather, he claims, "no follower of Jesus ought to be disturbed by change. Jesus himself came to inaugurate change, both in personal life and social conditions, of the most radical and far-reaching character."(44). He conversely maintains that the church's tactics should change to affect a changed world, including home missions.
[192] Grose 9.
[193] Abel 4.

this in his work *Foreigners or Friends?*, a "handbook" describing the church's proper response to immigration. Burgess begins by noting the "serious national problem" posed by mounting numbers of newcomers and the conditions wrought by such rapid immigration.[194] He writes, "if the immigrant problem is menacingly acute at this time, it is due to the overwhelming number of the more recent immigrant arrivals and to the natural tendency of these newcomers to segregate themselves in congested racial colonies, out of touch with our American life and therefore failing to understand it or to contribute to it or benefit by it as they should."[195] Characterizing more recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe as a stark departure from the "more civilized races of Europe" also strongly influenced this sort of anti-Immigration ideology.[196] Burgess, as was typical for writers of these types of volumes, proceeds to launch into a brief history of immigration complete with bizarre tables and charts, which analyze various topics, from illiteracy to racial complexions.

Yet, even inundated with racialized ideology, Burgess prudently notes that these newer immigrants "have the potentialities of good citizens and good neighbors, as much so as those of the earlier immigration about whom at the time there were equally grave fears."[197] Burgess himself was the Secretary of the Foreign Born American Division, Department of Mission and Church Extension of the Episcopal Church, so his volume is primarily meant to equip members of the Episcopal Church to do their part in alleviating the miseries caused by immigration's social ills. He "frankly assumes that our Church has

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[194] Burgess Preface.
[195] Burgess 2.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Burgess 9. This expression demonstrates a sense of historicity in that Burgess compares the wave of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe beginning in the 1880s with the first wave of northern and western European immigrants in the 1840s-1860s. These earlier immigrant too were seen as threatening to the purity of the nation, though they were overwhelmingly white, predominately German and Irish.

a direct obligation and a unique opportunity in this matter… the Church owes a duty to the foreign-born and their children in aiding them to find a normal and useful place in American life."[198] In this way, he discusses the "importance of a wise and understanding heart" in dealing with immigrants and points to Christianity as a main vessel for change, "an essential element in the solution."[199] In fact, Burgess unmistakably frames this as a mandate, saying, "unless…we hold that Christian morality and fellowship and religious ideals are negligible factors in the life of the individual and of the nation, we will not rest until the Church assumes its rightful leadership in this work of neighborliness."[200] Neighborliness consists of mollifying the negative social and economic realities facing immigrants in America as well as helping them become active, contributing, positive members of American society.[201] This amelioration came primarily through educational programs teaching the importance of democracy and the Constitution, with, of course, Christianity portrayed as the divine protector of these ideals.[202] According to Burgess and his like-minded peers, this constitutes the "most practical kind of missionary endeavor."[203]

Like Burgess, Howard Grose also composed a mission-minded overview of immigration with a prescription for the Christian response. Written as part of the Home Mission Study course and intended to provide instruction for home missionaries, this 1906 book chronicles the immigrant plight from the destitution of the Old Country to

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[198] Burgess Preface.
[199] Burgess 12.
[200] Burgess 13.
[201] These include tremendously hard work, since "work, work, work is the call of the mill" (27), "sordid" and dingy housing (26), "omnipresent" saloons (25), lack of education, exploitation, inadequate compensations, and thwarted ambitions (25-28). While certainly some immigrants succeed, he says many do not and their lives are decidedly worse than in the Old Country (29).
[202] Burgess 45-55.
[203] Burgess 13.

Ellis Island, quoting authorities such as Jacob Riis and Mrs. Lillian W. Betts. Grose discusses immigrant motivations for coming to America as well as describes the treatment they experience upon arrival. Describing the tremendous urban conglomerations of immigrant groups, Grose despairingly writes, “it is startling, almost disheartening… that these colonies [ethnic neighborhoods] are un-American not only in language, but in customs, in habits, in institutions.”[204] He continues to propose that Americanization can be either positive or negative, noting the exploitative and oppressive “vote-buyer, the saloon-keeper, the bribe-taker, the Jew sweater, the owner of wretched and unsanitary tenements, …who are teaching them [the immigrants] what America is, what America stands for.”[205] It is the duty therefore, of American Christians to combat this wrongdoing by simultaneously offering patriotic and Protestant assistance and compassion.[206] Championing the cause of home missions, Grose applauds the fact that “the light of American ideals is penetrating many of the dark places” but insists that the nation “is not yet fully awake to the pressing need for an active and vigorous Christian campaign amongst our new neighbors.”[207] Refusing to allow native middle-class Christians to remain contentedly isolated in their homes and congregations, Grose plainly asserts that, in the case of immigration to America, “ignorance is both stupid and

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[204] Grose 82. He goes through various immigrant groups, characterizing their spiritual and American potential. Italians, for example, “have large possibilities for good or evil” and represent a “most hopeful field for evangelistic effort.” The Slavs, on the other hand, remain, “on the lower rounds of the ladder of progress,” passive, stupid, given to intemperance and “morally undeveloped.” Though they are intensely religious, their “mingled with their reverence and piety is a deal of superstition born of ignorance.” In this case, Grose offers, it is the “task of [Protestant] American Christianity to lead the Slavs up into a more enlightened spirituality.” (67-79)

[205] Grose 85.

[206] This includes the protestation of child labor. Grose 103.

[207] Grose 104-105.

cowardly, to say nothing of unchristian."[208] In a long but exceptional passage encapsulating the Christian call to immigrants, Grose avers:

> To lead an ignorant person into knowledge that is good and helpful; to sweeten the life of little children, To bring a soul from the darkness of superstition and fear into the light of rejoicing faith and love, to be the means in God's Providence in making a loyal, docile, clean-minded, purehearted, Christian American out of a once unbefriended alien immigrant--that is the work which appeals to the highest and holiest in the human heart.[209]

Even as missionaries feared the tumult of the city, the filthiness of the tenement, the 'revolutionary' societal changes, they also came to understand work in the world, in the city, as part of their divine calling. This phenomenon drew out of and contributed to the tradition of the social gospel in which Protestant Christians imagined themselves as obeying God's command to love their neighbors and building the kingdom of God on Earth. An important and transforming ideology, the social gospel swept through American Protestantism, re-energizing the faithful and creating a more world-focused church.[210] *The Baptist Watchman*, declaring this active zeal years earlier, stated in 1857 that, "It is ours, not only to fit ourselves and others for a better world, but to labor to make this world better."[211] In the following decades, this concept really caught on, with the flames of activism fanned by faithful followers throughout the nation. As one Christian described, "under the influence of men such as Rauschenbusch and Peabody,

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[208] Grose 105.
[209] Grose 128.
[210] See Ronald C. White and Charles Howard Hopkins*, The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture*, (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991), Jacob H. Dorn, *Socialism and Christianity in the 20th Century*, (Westbury, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), Kenneth, McDonald, "The Presbyterian Church and the Social Gospel in California, 1890-1910," American Presbyterians 72 (Winter 1994), 241-52, and Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
[211] Heidi Rolland Unruh and Ronald J. Sider, *Saving Souls, Serving Society: Understanding the Faith Factor in Church-Based Social Ministry,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2005, 162

the Christian Socialists and others, the idea had become generally accepted that Christianity had not only a gospel for the individual, but for the regeneration of society."[212] Or, as the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions put it, "personal and social regeneration must go together if the Kingdom of God is to come."[213] With time, then, the social gospel effectively "shifted the locus of salvation from the regeneration of individuals to the redemption of the entire social order."[214] No longer beleaguered pilgrims patiently longing for heavenly rest, Protestants increasingly set out to "usher in the kingdom of God on earth through the blending of witness and social action."[215]

The rhetoric of building the kingdom of God caught the fires of evangelical fervor to create a vital movement of economic and social change. Although the significance of personal salvation did not altogether disappear from Protestant thought and rhetoric, its resigned otherness had been replaced by a vision of Christians laboring in the world for the sake of Christ, bringing people into the fold by public works and demonstrating the gospel through social efforts.[216] As one source described it, "A 'Benevolent Empire' of religiously-based social services proliferated in the 1800s, driven by the social forces of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization, as well as the earnest desires of revival-era Christians to show the 'fruits of conversion. Christian activism blended into relief aid, a sweeping moral agenda, and social advocacy."[217] This culminated in the establishment

[212] Abel 61.
[213] Abel 62.
[214] Unruh 165.
[215] Unruh 163.
[216] Unruh 164.
[217] Unruh 162, T. Smith 1957, 153.

and support of many social causes-education, labor reform, care for the orphans and widows, temperance, peace, prison reform, and help for the racially marginalized.[218]

Dr. Harlan Paul Douglass explores the social gospel and its ramifications in his 1914 book *The New Home Missions*, discussing the inherent social commands of the Christian message.[219] The new social gospel, he claims, requires a Christian "to seek the renewal of the individual life… [and] must go on to accomplish the spiritual reconstruction of every political, economic, and cultural agency through which common life finds expression."[220] Admitting the immensity of the enterprise, the Christian thinker John Milton Moore writes, "if this wholeness of life is what we are aiming at, we have a task that is simply stupendous."[221] Rather than determining progress in conversions and church construction, the social gospel outlook forced a new litmus test:

> Are we laying hold of American life and changing its spirit and sin? Are we allaying prejudice and promoting good-will? Are we reducing conflict between races and classes? Are we enriching the influence of the home? Are we helping to promote the common welfare in commerce and industry, in education and the arts? Are we creating a generous attitude toward satisfying human need and sharing world problems? Are we dealing courageously with those economic, imperialistic, militaristic aspects of our civilization which have made it seen to other peoples a veritable peril?[222]

According to this view, home missions "proclaim a social gospel in which justice in the collective life of men is regarded, not as a by-product of religion, but as one of the essential exercises of religion itself as interpreted by Christ."[223] In short, the concern was

[218] The YMCA and numerous other organizations (now primarily secular organizations) began during this flurry of activity inspired by the social gospel doctrine.
[219] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The New Home Missions: An Account of their Social Redirection,* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1914), also Moore 53, 55-56.
[220] Moore 58.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Moore 58-59.
[223] Douglass 153.

transferred from individual salvation to the salvation of society more broadly, a shift generally reflected in the work and rhetoric of the Protestant Home Missions Movement.

Home missionaries, thus encouraged and instructed by study courses and didactic documents, took to the streets and deserts, the tenements and shacks, equipped both with an awful sense of dread and a great and sustaining hope; in short, a grand responsibility. As Howard Grose stated, "What [immigrants] will be and do then depends largely upon what our American Protestant Christianity does for them now."[224] Propelled both by fear of the foreignness of immigrants and their Catholicism as well as by an altruistic and hopeful belief in the universal possibilities of America and God's purposes, efforts at converting and aiding immigrants reveal a deep ambivalence and tension within Protestantism around the turn of the century. Thus, the Protestant Home Missions Movement emerges as a unique historical moment, a window of time in which fear and hope were inextricably mingled. Though these tensions may seem paradoxical and even somewhat hypocritical, the combination of forces actually provided the impetus and possibility for the Home Missions Movement. If simply consumed by fear, it is unlikely that Protestants would have actively sought out immigrants through the home missions movements, choosing rather to remain sequestered in their comfortable congregations. But conversely, if immigrants posed no threat and were simply potential Protestants, it is equally unlikely that home missionaries would have felt the need to go and minister to them in such numbers and with such passionate intensity. Indeed, it is the dichotomy between fear and compassion, this confounding and perplexing mixture, that lends the Protestant Home Missions Movement its rhetorical vitality and dizzying activity.

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[224] Grose Preface.